

CAI

MI 800

-806136

Government
Publications



3 1761 11767878 9

Technical Study 36
WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN
LABOUR MARKET
Carole Swan
July 1981

**LABOUR MARKET DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE
TECHNICAL STUDIES SERIES**

Technical Study 36
**WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN
LABOUR MARKET**
Carole Swan
July 1981



This is one in a series of technical studies prepared for the Task Force on Labour Market Development. The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Task Force. They do not reflect the views of the Government of Canada.

WH 1039

© Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1981

Cat. No. MP15-4/36-1981E


ISBN 0-662-11722-0

Abstracts (in both English and French) of the technical studies prepared for the Task Force have been published under one cover. This compilation, other technical studies and the Task Force Report itself are available from:

Enquiries and Distribution
Public Affairs Division
Canada Employment and
Immigration Commission
140 Promenade du Portage
Ottawa K1A 0J9
Tel: 994-6313

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET: AN OVERVIEW	
LABOUR FORCE	4
EMPLOYMENT	24
UNEMPLOYMENT	41
WAGES AND INCOMES	50
UNIONIZATION	54
DOUBLE DISADVANTAGE	58
III. ANALYSIS OF THE DISADVANTAGED POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET	60
ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEN	62
STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF THE LABOUR MARKET	72
IV. POLICY DIRECTIONS	79
V. BIBLIOGRAPHY	



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761117678789>

ABSTRACT

WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET

Carole Swan

This paper describes the situation of women in the Canadian labour market and the problems they face in participating productively and equitably in the labour force. Following this, the paper provides an analysis of women's employment disadvantage by examining the socioeconomic context of women's labour force involvement. Barriers to equality in the labour market are also considered from the perspective of an institutional approach to discrimination. Directions for future policy and programs are also suggested.

Female participation in the labour force has been rising steadily since the early 1950s. It is estimated that in the next 20 years, adult women will participate in the labour force in almost the same numbers as adult men.

Increasing participation has not been matched, however, by significant improvements in the position of women within the labour force. Women continue to be segregated into relatively few jobs, often with poor promotion opportunities and low wages. In 1980, over 60 per cent of all women worked at three jobs -- clerical, sales and services.

Although women form 40 per cent of the labour force, they account for 45 per cent of total unemployment. In 1980, 8.4 per cent of the female labour force was unemployed, compared to 6.9 per cent of the male labour force. Over one third of total female unemployment (the largest single component) occurs among re-entrants to the labour force. As well, new entrants account for a larger proportion of female unemployment than male unemployment.

Recent Canadian experience indicates that many women with children are re-entering the labour force. These women face one of the highest rates of unemployment in our economy. Barriers to the re-entry of women include the double burden of family and work responsibilities and inadequate child care facilities. In addition, human capital resources, particularly those developed through volunteer work, are often not recognized.

In 1978, full-year women workers earned, on average, 58 per cent of the average male income: this wage gap has shown little sign of closing. Male average earnings exceed female average earnings in all occupational groups, including those groups dominated by women. When factors such as age, level of education and length of work time are taken into account, men's earnings still exceed those of women. These estimates consider only wage rates in the same occupations and do not examine the equally important issue of the comparable worth of male and female jobs.

The labour market position of women who are disabled, immigrant or Native is generally worse than that of women in general.

Policies that attempt to alter the structure of labour supply (i.e., improved education, training, mobility and labour market information) will not, by themselves, significantly improve the employment position of women, because of the persistence of systemic discrimination.

Employment discrimination within a firm used to be interpreted as the product of individual employer prejudice or ill-will against an individual or a group. As knowledge of the nature and extent of discrimination has developed, however, we have come to recognize discrimination in terms of

the operation of the entire employment process, including hiring, promotion and training. While individual employers may still influence employment patterns due to personal prejudice or sexism the more significant basis of employment discrimination resides in the system itself. This perspective on employment discrimination is known as "systemic discrimination."

The movement of women into non-traditional jobs is an important initiative. Training, job creation and employer incentives to help women into these jobs should focus on high productivity, stable industries. However, these efforts must be accompanied by measures aimed at removing structural barriers and combatting systemic discrimination. Otherwise, it is likely that the same forces which operate to segregate women into low-pay, low-status jobs in the traditional sector will appear in the non-traditional trades as well. Thus, the movement of women into non-traditional jobs will not guarantee increasing equality in the labour market.

A full employment policy is one instrument that could be used to achieve these objectives. In principle, employers in the primary, more desirable, sector would be required to look to the secondary sector for workers as labour markets tighten. Also required are initiatives to provide access for women to jobs in the primary sector, such as mandatory affirmative action, incentives for on-the-job training for women and adequate support services. Efforts should be made to provide the child care facilities that are an important component of support services for working women.

Working conditions in those jobs now held by women must also be improved. Even if women are not able to move easily out of less desirable "secondary" jobs, providing equal pay for work of equal value would be a significant improvement.

The particular needs of doubly disadvantaged women must be recognized and addressed. Programs for the disabled must accord equal opportunity to women. Immigrant women must be aided in identifying and using their rights, and language policies should be examined to ensure access to immigrant women. Particular training needs of Native women should also be emphasized.

The power to influence different aspects of the employment situation of women rests with various levels of both federal and provincial governments as well as with the private sector, and it must be recognized that cross-department and cross-government action is required.

While economic conditions may work to expand women's opportunities in the next decade, policy makers must ensure that equality for women in the workplace reflects not only short-term economic imperatives but also represents a fundamental societal recognition of and commitment to equal opportunities for all.

SOMMAIRE

LES FEMMES SUR LE MARCHÉ DU TRAVAIL DU CANADA

Carole Swan

Ce document fait le point sur la situation de la femme au sein du marché du travail canadien et décrit les difficultés qu'elle doit affronter si elle veut participer activement et équitablement au marché du travail. Suit une analyse de la situation défavorable des femmes sur le marché du travail à la lumière des conditions socio-économiques qui jalonnent leur participation à la population active. Les obstacles à l'égalité au sein du marché du travail sont également examinés du point de vue de la discrimination institutionnelle. En outre, on propose des lignes directrices pour l'élaboration de mesures et de programmes futures.

Le taux d'activité des femmes s'est accru régulièrement depuis le début des années 1950. Selon les estimations, au cours des 20 prochaines années, les femmes adultes seront presque aussi nombreuses que les hommes adultes au sein de la population active.

Cependant, cette augmentation du taux d'activité des femmes n'a pas entraîné une amélioration importante au chapitre de leur situation au sein de la population active. Les femmes demeurent confinées dans un nombre relativement restreint d'emplois offrant souvent de faibles possibilités d'avancement et un maigre salaire. En 1980, plus de 60 % des travailleuses se retrouvaient dans 3 catégories: travail de bureau, vente et services.

Même si elles comptent pour 40 % de la population active, elles représentent 45 % du nombre total de chômeurs. En 1980, 8,4 % des femmes faisant partie de la population active étaient en chômage, contre 6,9 % pour les hommes. Plus du tiers du nombre total de chômeuses (soit le groupe le plus important), représente les femmes qui reviennent sur le marché du travail.

En outre, les nouvelles actives comptent pour une proportion plus importante du chômage des femmes par rapport à ce qui se produit chez les hommes.

Selon des données recueillies récemment au Canada, de nombreuses mères de famille reviennent sur le marché du travail. Or, ces femmes connaissent le taux de chômage le plus élevé dans notre économie. Notons, entre autres obstacles à surmonter, le double fardeau que représentent les responsabilités familiales et professionnelles et le nombre insuffisant de garderies. En outre, les ressources en capital humain, et surtout les compétences acquises grâce au travail bénévole ne sont souvent pas reconnues.

En 1978, les femmes qui occupaient un emploi permanent gagnaient, en moyenne, 59 % du salaire moyen des hommes, et il est guère probable, selon les indications, que cet écart diminue. Les salaires moyens des hommes dépassent ceux des femmes dans tous les groupes de professions, y compris ceux où les femmes sont en plus grand nombre. Lorsqu'il est tenu compte de facteurs comme l'âge, la scolarité et l'ancienneté, le salaire des hommes est encore supérieur à celui des femmes. Ces estimations ne portent que sur les taux de salaire pour les mêmes professions et ne touchent pas la question également importante de la valeur comparable du travail effectué par les hommes et les femmes.

La situation des femmes handicapées, immigrantes ou autochtones sur le marché du travail est habituellement pire que celle des femmes en général.

Les politiques qui visent à modifier la structure de l'offre de main-d'oeuvre (c'est-à-dire l'amélioration de la scolarité, de la formation, de la mobilité et de meilleurs

renseignements sur le marché du travail) ne réussissent pas, d'elles-mêmes, à améliorer de beaucoup la situation des femmes en raison de la persistance de la discrimination systémique.

La discrimination en matière d'emploi au sein d'une entreprise était, par le passé, considérée comme un préjugé personnel de l'employeur ou de la mauvaise volonté à l'égard d'un individu ou d'un groupe particulier. Cependant, la portée et la nature de la discrimination a pris forme, et l'on s'est finalement aperçu que cette discrimination découlait du processus global d'emploi y compris l'embauche, l'avancement et la formation. Si l'attitude préjudiciaire ou sexiste de certains employeurs peut encore influencer sur les pratiques d'emploi, il reste néanmoins que la discrimination fondamentale en matière d'emploi réside dans le système lui-même. C'est ce qu'on appelle la "discrimination systémique".

L'arrivée des femmes dans des emplois non traditionnels représente une innovation importante. La formation, les mesures de création d'emplois et les stimulants offerts aux employeurs pour aider les femmes à accéder à ces emplois devraient viser surtout les industries stables où la productivité est élevée. Cependant, ces efforts doivent être accompagnés de mesures destinées à éliminer les obstacles structurels et à lutter contre la discrimination systémique, sans quoi il est probable que les mêmes forces qui contribuent à confiner les femmes dans des emplois traditionnels mal rémunérés et très secondaires se manifestent également dans les métiers non traditionnels. Par conséquent, la venue des femmes dans les métiers non traditionnels ne pourra garantir en elle-même une égalité accrue au sein du marché du travail.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, on pourrait recourir entre autres à une politique de plein emploi. En principe, les employeurs du secteur primaire seraient obligés d'aller recruter

des travailleurs dans le secteur secondaire, à mesure que les marchés du travail se resserrent. Cette politique doit également être assortie de mesures tels les programmes obligatoires d'action positive, les stimulants pour la formation des femmes en cours d'emploi et des services de soutien adéquats pour permettre ainsi aux femmes d'avoir accès à des emplois du secteur primaire. Il faudra déployer des efforts pour mettre sur pied les garderies nécessaires, ce qui représente pour les travailleuses l'élément le plus important des services de soutien.

Il faut également prendre des mesures pour améliorer les conditions de travail liées aux emplois qu'occupent actuellement les femmes. Même si celles-ci ne peuvent quitter facilement les emplois (moins souhaitables) du secteur secondaire, l'accroissement de leur salaire par l'application du principe du salaire égal pour un travail de valeur égale représenterait une amélioration importante.

Il importe de reconnaître et de répondre aux besoins particuliers des femmes doublement défavorisées. Les programmes à l'intention des personnes handicapées doivent accorder une chance égale aux femmes. Il faut aider les immigrantes à déterminer et à utiliser leurs droits, et les politiques linguistiques doivent être examinées pour permettre aux immigrantes d'avoir accès à un emploi. Il y aurait lieu également de mettre l'accent sur les besoins particuliers des femmes autochtones en matière de formation.

Le pouvoir d'influer sur divers aspects de la situation des femmes sur le plan de l'emploi se trouve entre les mains de diverses autorités fédérales et provinciales, de même que du secteur privé, et on doit reconnaître qu'une action interministérielle et intergouvernementale s'impose.

Les conditions économiques sont certes déterminantes pour ce qui est d'accroître les possibilités d'emploi des femmes au cours des années 1980, mais les décisionnaires, au niveau politique, doivent pouvoir garantir l'égalité des chances non seulement du point de vue des impératifs économiques à court terme, mais aussi de façon à ce que la société en reconnaisse le bien-fondé et s'engage à appliquer universellement le principe d'égalité des chances.

WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET*

I. INTRODUCTION

Women have always worked. However, most of them did not work for pay and were not considered members of the labour force. Consequently, the work done by women has gone largely unrecognized. Women have been choosing, in increasing numbers, to enter the sphere of paid work. At the turn of the century, the 238,000 Canadian women in paid employment accounted for 13% of all workers with jobs. (Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1975, p.1). These women represented about 12% of women 10 years of age and over. Eighty years later, women now form over 40% of the Canadian labour force and over half of all women aged 15 years and over are either working or looking for jobs. The accelerating involvement of women in the paid labour force, particularly over the last two decades, is one of the most dramatic developments in Canadian economic history. It is estimated that in the next twenty years adult women will participate in the Canadian labour force in almost the same numbers as adult men.

Fewer and fewer women are willing to stake their economic well-being upon a man who may leave or die, leaving them in poverty. Increasingly, attachment to the labour force for a significant period of time is becoming the norm for women.

*The author wishes to thank Glen Hodgson for assistance in the preparation of statistical material presented in this paper.

Yet this great reserve of human resources is being underutilized. The increasing participation of women in the labour market has not been matched by significant improvements in their position within the labour force. Women continue to be segregated into relatively few jobs, often with poor promotion opportunities and low wages. The types of jobs they occupy have changed somewhat with shifts in the industrial and economic environment but the fact of occupational and industrial concentration remains. For the last two decades, women have consistently experienced higher unemployment rates than men. While female participation rates have nearly doubled, unemployment rates have tripled. The wage gap between incomes of women and men has shown no signs of shrinking.

This paper describes the situation of women in the Canadian labour market and the problems they face in participating productively and equitably in the labour force. It offers a perspective on the recent labour force experience of women through an examination of the composition of the female labour force, patterns of full and part-time employment by occupation and industry, the incidence and nature of female unemployment, and incomes paid to female labour market participants.

Following the examination of the situation of women in the labour market, the paper provides an analysis of women's employment disadvantage by examining the socio-economic context of women's labour force involvement. Barriers to equality in the labour market are also considered from the perspective of an institutional approach to the operation of discrimination.

Given the increasing demands of women for economic equality as well as the changing and expanding needs of our economy, we must look to improving the position of women in the labour market and, through this, to greater economic potential and effectiveness.

II. POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR MARKET

LABOUR FORCE

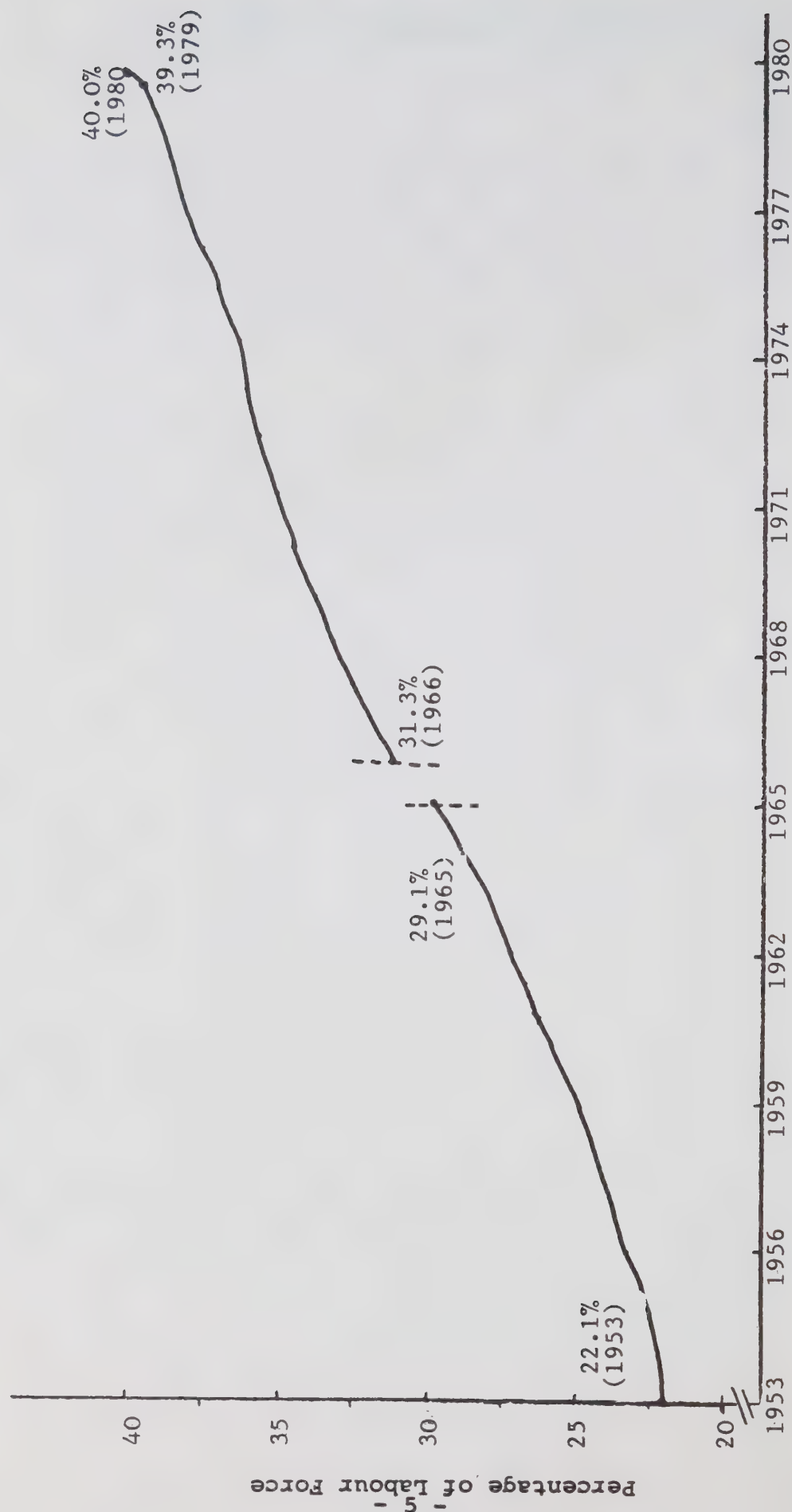
The movement of women into the Canadian labour force has shown a steady upward trend since 1941, except for a brief drop in the immediate post-war years. As Figure 1 indicates, the female proportion of the labour force has nearly doubled since the early 1950s.

Underlying the growth in the female share of total labour force is the growth in female participation rates, shown in Figure 2. The female participation rate (defined as the proportion of the working age population who have jobs or are looking for work) has risen each year since 1953, reaching 50.3% in 1980. Average annual growth in the female participation rate over the period 1966-1980 has been 2.8%. The male participation rate has not exhibited this trend and, in fact, was lower in 1980 (at 78.3%) than its 1966 level.

As Table 1 indicates, female participation rates have increased in each of the last six years in every province. The largest growth in female participation rates over the last six year period occurred in the province with the lowest female participation rate. After growing by 21.5% from 1975 to 1980, Newfoundland's female participation rate stood at 37.9% in 1980. In three provinces, Alberta, Ontario and Manitoba, over half of all women in the working age population are in the labour force.

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE, 1953-19

Figure 1

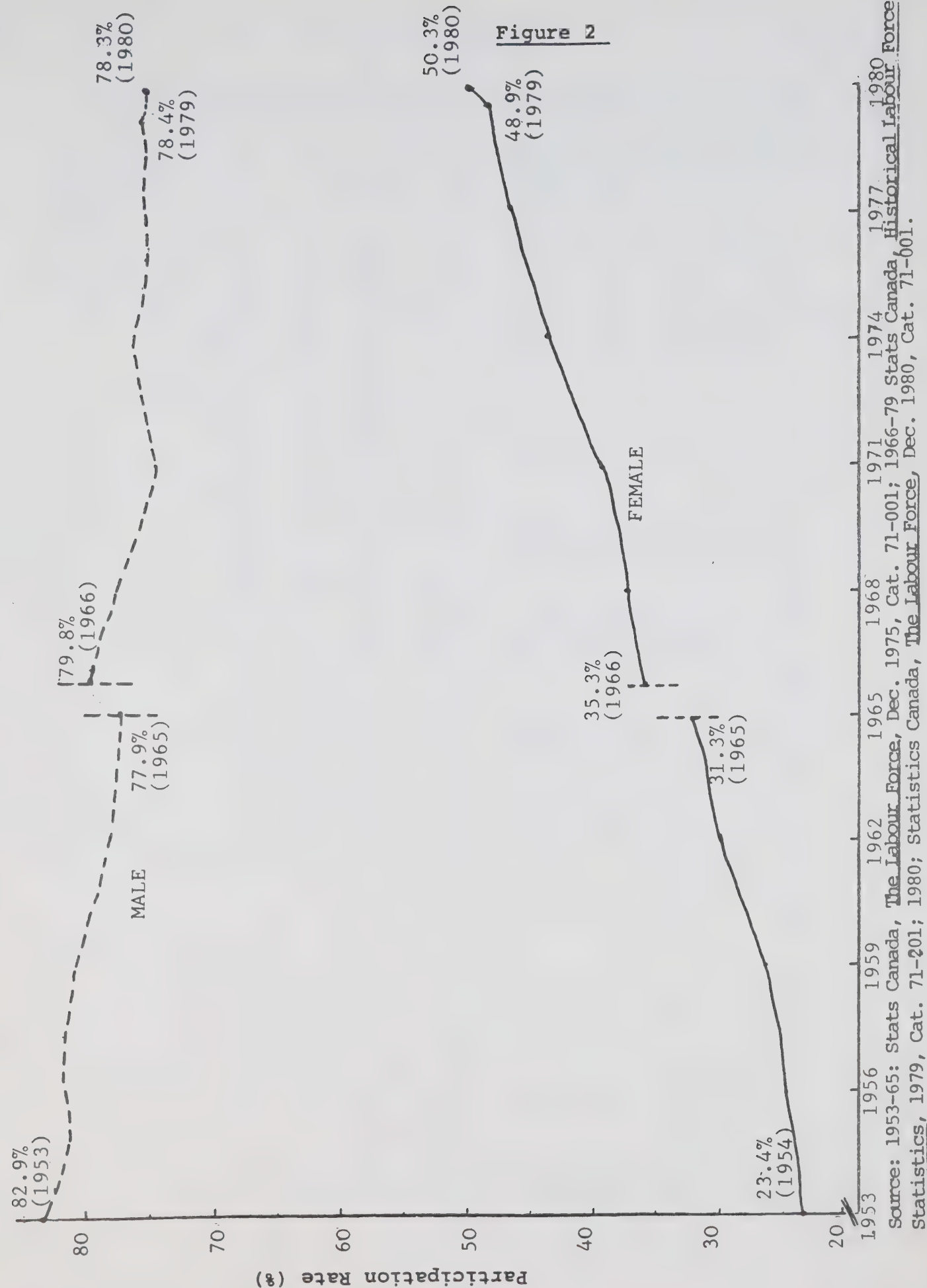


Source: 1953-1965: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force Dec. 1975, Cat. 71-001.

1966-1979: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics 1979, Cat. 71-201.

1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1980, Cat. 71-001

PARTICIPATION RATE BY SEX, CANADA, 1953-1980



Source: 1953-65: Stats Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1975, Cat. 71-001; 1966-79 Stats Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1979, Cat. 71-201; 1980; Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1980, Cat. 71-601.

TABLE 1

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY PROVINCE, SELECTED YEARS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Nfld.</u>	<u>P.E.I.</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>N.B.</u>	<u>QUE.</u>	<u>ONT.</u>	<u>MAN.</u>	<u>SASK.</u>	<u>ALTA.</u>	<u>B.C.</u>	<u>CANADA</u>
1966*	22.4%	28.6%	28.6%	29.1%	32.6%	36.1%	34.7%	27.6%	37.3%	33.0%	33.6%
1971*	25.5%	34.2	30.8	30.2	35.4	40.2	39.0	30.6	40.4	37.0	37.1
1975	31.2	41.4	39.1	38.0	40.1	48.6	43.4	40.3	49.6	45.2	44.4
1976	31.8	41.7	39.4	38.0	41.1	49.0	45.6	43.0	50.7	45.8	45.2
1977	34.2	43.0	40.1	38.6	42.2	49.8	46.7	44.1	51.2	45.9	46.0
1978	35.8	44.5	42.0	40.8	43.9	51.5	48.6	45.1	53.1	48.3	47.8
1979	36.2	46.2	42.1	41.0	44.5	53.3	49.3	46.5	54.6	48.6	48.9
1980	37.9	46.7	44.1	42.8	46.0	54.3	51.1	46.8	56.7	49.7	50.3

* 1966 and 1971 data are from the old Labour Force Survey and therefore are not strictly comparable with 1975-79 data from the revised Labour Force Survey.

Source: 1966, 1971:

Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Women in the Labour
Force: Facts and Figures, Part I, 1977

1975-1978:

Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages
1975-1978, Cat. 71-529

1979-1980:

Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat 71-001,
December 1979 and December 1980, cat.71-001

Female participation rates at the national level in 1980 exceeded 50% for all age groups except women aged 55-64 years. While young women (aged 20-24 years) continue to have the highest participation rate, the greatest growth in female participation over the last three decades has occurred among women aged 25-54 years. As Figure 3 indicates, participation rates for women in these age groups has increased tremendously, more than doubling from 1953 to 1980.

While single women have the highest participation rate, the participation rate for married women has shown the greatest increase. As Table 2 indicates, the participation rate for married women increased by over seven percentage points from 1975 to 1980, compared to 4.1 and 3.5 percentage points for single women and divorced, separated or widowed women, respectively. The average annual increase in the participation rate of married women over this period was 3.5%. The dramatic increase in the involvement of married women in the Canadian labour market is reflected in the fact that while in 1951 married women made up 6.6% of the Canadian labour force, by 1980 nearly one quarter of the labour force was composed of married women (Connelly, 1978, p.84).

Much of the great influx of married women into the labour force can be traced to the increasing participation of women with children under six years of age. Census data from 1971 and 1976 (Table 3) indicate that the participation rate of women aged 35-44 years with children under six registered the largest increase, followed by women aged 15-34 years with

Figure 3

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP,
CANADA, 1953-1980

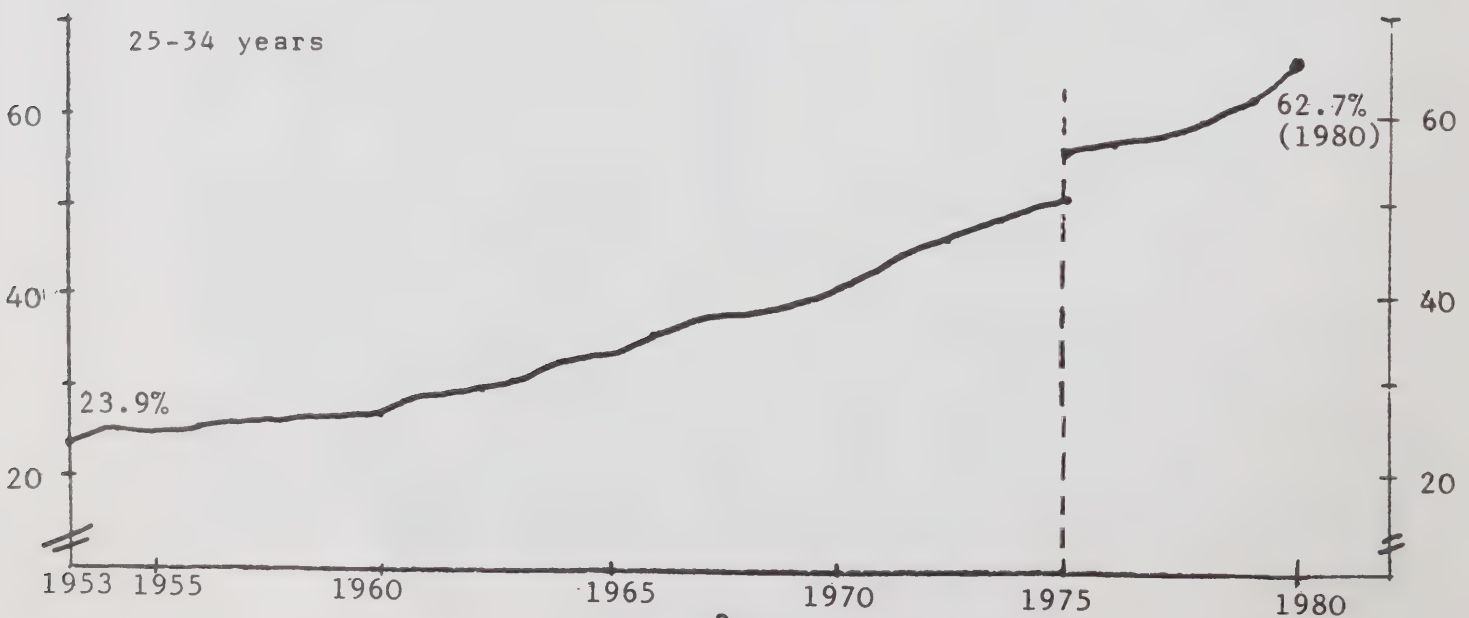
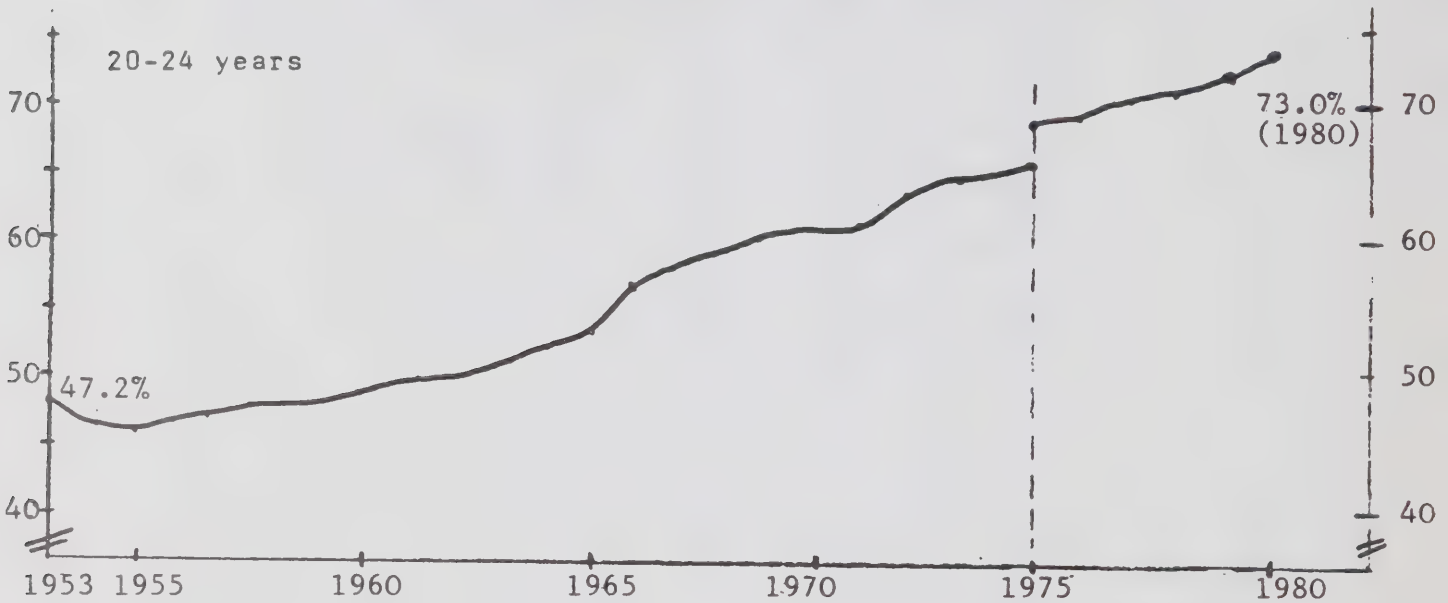
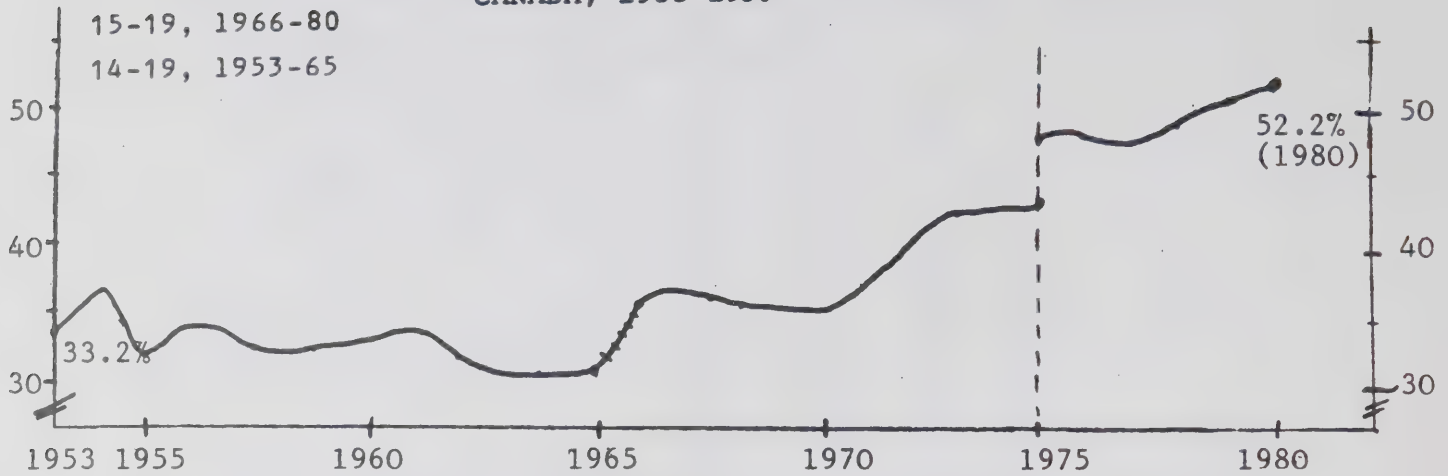
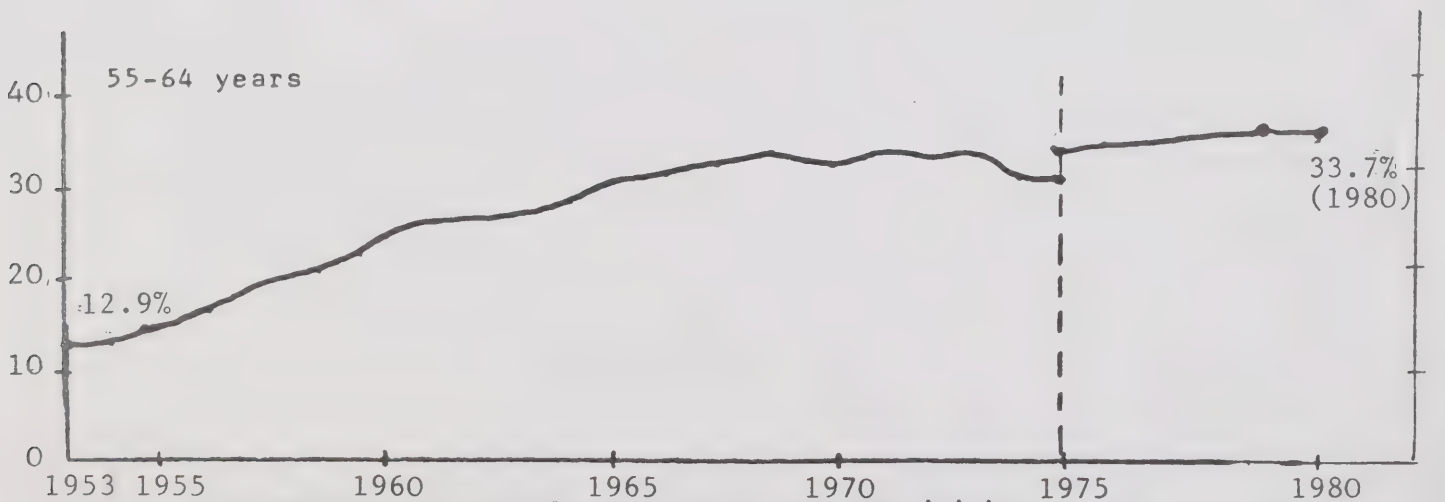
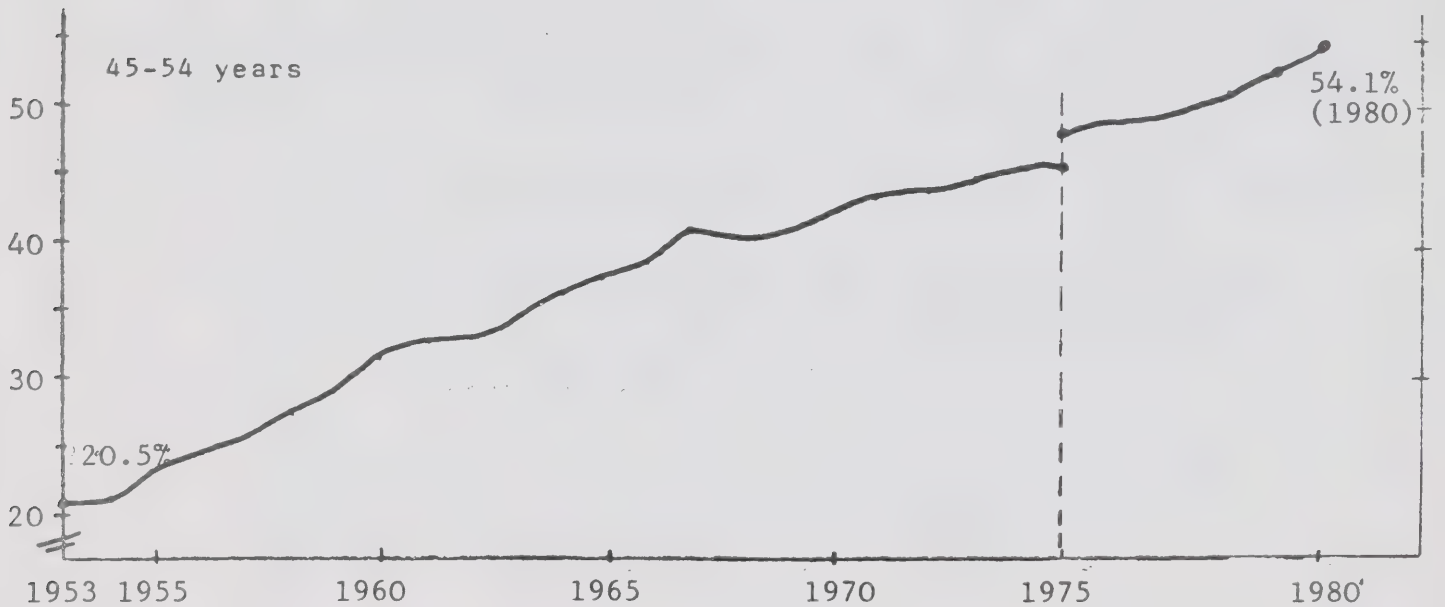
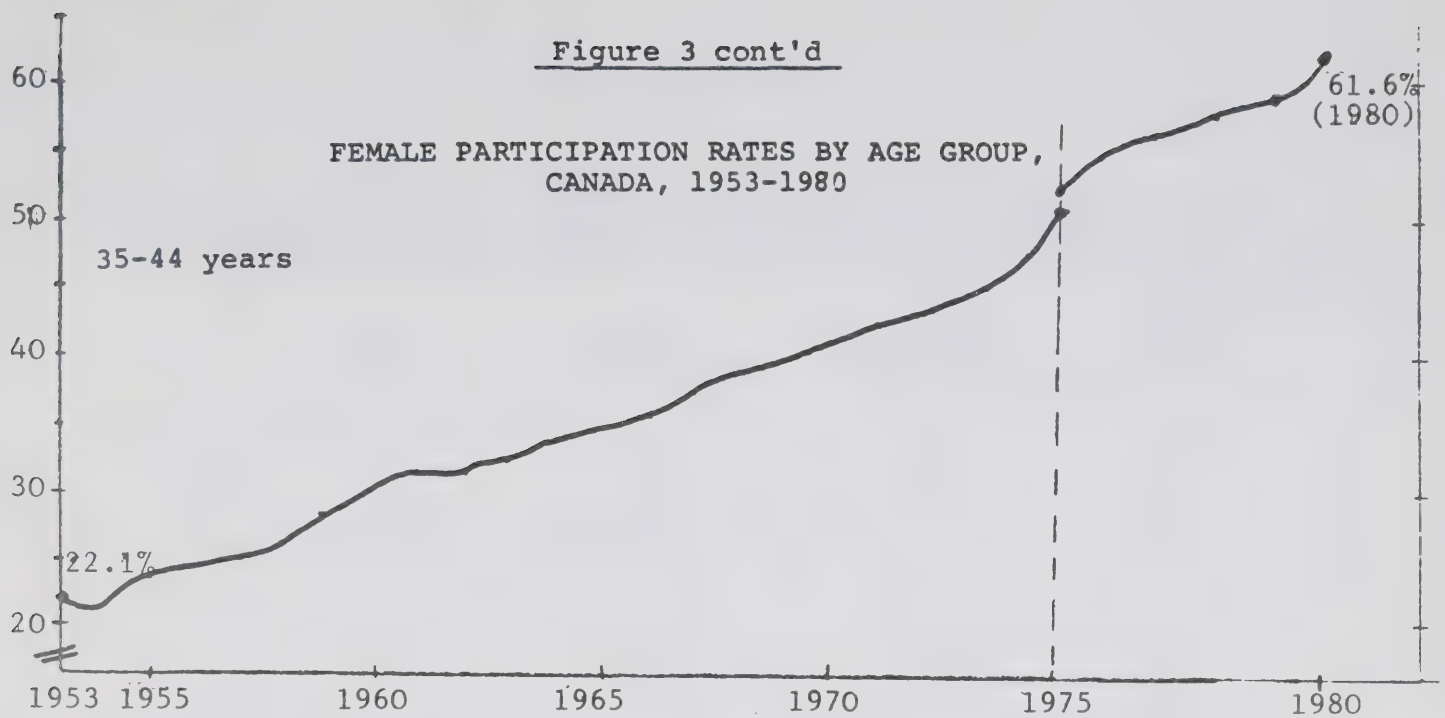


Figure 3 cont'd

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP,
CANADA, 1953-1980



Source: 1953-75: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division
1975-79: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics Cat. 71-201
1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1980, Cat. 41-001

TABLE 2

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATE BY MARITAL STATUS, CANADA, SELECTED YEARS 1931-1980.

<u>YEAR*</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>	<u>SINGLE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
1931	3.5%	43.8%	21.3%
1941	4.5	47.2	17.3
1951	11.2	58.3	19.3
1961	22.0	54.1	22.9
1971	37.0	53.5	26.5
1975	41.6	59.2	31.3
1976	42.9	58.8	31.5
1977	44.2	59.0	32.2
1978	46.3	60.5	33.5
1979	47.4	61.8	34.9
1980	48.9	63.3	34.8

* Statistics from 1931 Census are for females 10 years and over; 1941, 1951, 14 years and over; 1961, 1971 and all other years 15 years and over. "Other" includes divorced, separated and widowed persons.

Source: 1931-1971: Patricia Connelly, Last Hired First Fired, Toronto, The Women's Press, 1978. Table 1.1

1975-1979: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. 71-201, 1979

1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. 71-001

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN (HUSBANDS PRESENT), BY AGE GROUP AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN IN THE HOME, 1971 AND 1976.

	Wives Aged <u>15-34</u>	Wives Aged <u>35-44</u>
With no children present		
1971	73.9	59.4
1976	77.5	65.5
Absolute increase (percentage points)	3.6	6.1
Relative increase (per cent)	4.9%	10.3%
With children, all over six		
1971	46.0	44.2
1976	54.9	53.6
Absolute increase (percentage points)	8.9	9.4
Relative increase (percent)	19.3%	21.3%
With children under six		
1971	28.0	25.4
1976	36.9	35.8
Absolute increase (percentage points)	8.9	10.4
Relative increase (per cent)	31.8%	40.9%

Source: 1971: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity - Work Experience, Female Labour Force Participation by Schooling, Marital Status, Age, and Presence of Children, for Canada and the Regions, Cat. 94-774, Vol.3, Part 7 (Bulletin 3. 7-4)

1976: Statistics Canada, 1976 Census of Canada, Supplementary Bulletins; Economic Characteristics, Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Level of Schooling, Age, Marital Status and Presence of Children, Cat. 94-836, (Bulletin 10SE7)

children under six. As a result, increasing numbers of women are combining roles as workers with those as wife and mother. They see their career as a life-long endeavour and return to work after some time at home.

There is evidence that changes are occurring in traditional patterns of female participation. Cohort analysis traces participation rate patterns of groups of women over time. Employment and Immigration Canada plotted participation rates of selected cohorts of women from the labour force surveys of 1955, 1965 and 1975 (Department of Employment and Immigration, 1978). Each cohort group covers an age span of ten years with a maximum of three observations for each cohort.¹

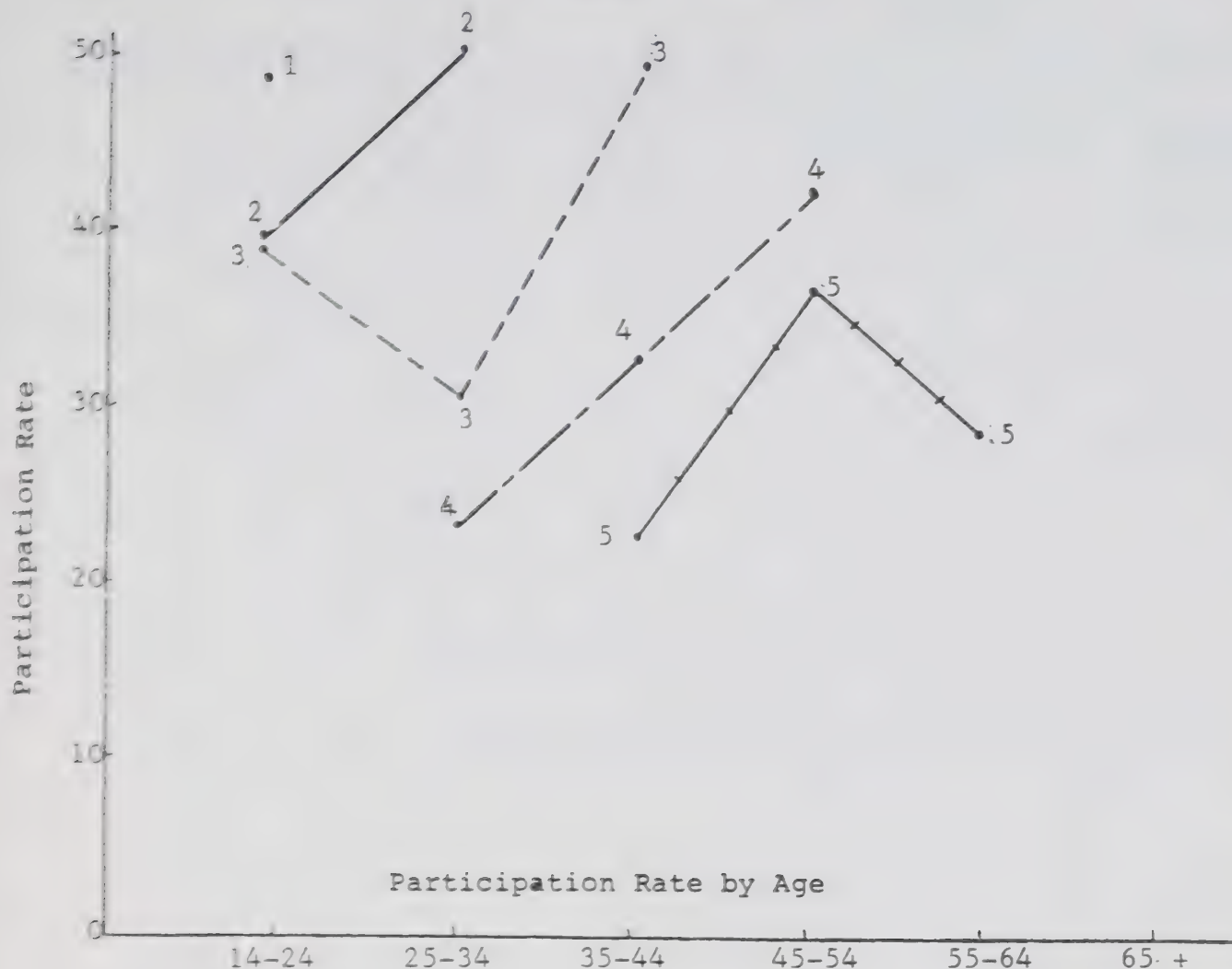
The analysis which follows is taken from Ciuriak and Sims, Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada (Department of Finance, 1980). Figure 4 shows a steady upward shift in participation rates of successive cohorts, reflecting the increase in female participation rates over the past twenty-five years. Cohort 3 follows the traditional pattern of female participation rates, with participation in the labour force falling sharply over the child-bearing years of 25-34 years and rising to a second peak between the ages of 40 and 55 years. However, cohort 2, born between 1941 and 1950, had sharply increasing participation rates between ages 14-24 and 25-34. As Ciuriak and Sims note: (Department of Finance, 1980)

This is a significant departure from the traditional female participation rate pattern; the increase in the participation rates of cohort 2 between ages 14-24 and 25-34 parallels

¹ The cohorts aged 14-24 and 25-34 in 1975 have only one and two observations respectively.

Figure 4

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY COHORT,
CANADA, 1955-1975



Cohort Number	5	4	3	2	1
Born In	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960

In year, age bracket of each cohort:		5	4	3	2	1
1955		35-44	25-34	15-24	-	-
1965		45-54	35-44	25-34	15-24	-
1975		55-64	45-54	35-44	25-34	15-24

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, An Analysis of Female Labour Force Participation, Nov. 1978, as reproduced in Department of Finance Canada, Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada, April 1980.

the traditional pattern of male participation rates, which tend to rise strongly across these age groups.

While ten-year age cohorts indicate this departure from a traditional female participation rate pattern, five-year age group data from the 1976 Census indicate that the participation rate of women aged 25-29 in 1976 was in fact lower than the participation rate of the same cohort five years earlier . Thus the traditional pattern of participation rate movements between age groups 20-24 and 25-29 continued through the early 1970s. Ciuriak and Sims note, however, that the traditional participation rate pattern for five-year age cohorts has been reversed in the United States, Denmark and Sweden and indicate a high probability that the same reversal is occurring at present in Canada. Thus, the pattern of labour force attachment of women is becoming more like that of men. Women, particularly those of child-bearing age, are increasingly deciding to remain in the labour force or to withdraw for only a short period of time.

Empirical studies have pointed to education as an important factor in increasing female labour supply. As Table 4 indicates, participation in the labour force is strongly correlated with level of education. Women with university degrees had a participation rate of over 72% in 1980, followed by those with post-secondary certificates or diplomas (65.4%), some post-secondary education (61.7%), high school (53.5%) and eight years or less of schooling (25.7%). The largest growth in participation rates over the period 1975 to 1980 occurred in that group of women with some post-secondary education, followed by women with high school education.

TABLE 4

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATE BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CANADA, 1975-1980

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>0-8 YEARS</u>	<u>HIGH SCHOOL</u>	<u>SOME POST-SECONDARY</u>	<u>POST-SECONDARY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA</u>	<u>UNIVERSITY DEGREE</u>
1975	25.2%	47.2%	53.1%	59.2%	66.4%
1976	25.5	47.9	54.0	59.8	67.0
1977	25.3	48.4	56.8	60.6	68.1
1978	25.9	50.7	59.5	61.3	71.3
1979	26.4	52.2	59.8	62.7	70.7
1980	25.7	53.5	61.7	65.4	72.3

Source: 1975-78: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529

1979, 80: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 and December 1980, Cat. 71-001

Over half of both the male and the female labour force is made up of persons with a high school education (see Table 5). The second largest group in the male labour force are those persons with 0-8 years of education (accounting for 18.5% of the male labour force). Women in this educational category make up only 11.5% of the female labour force. The share of the female labour force with a post-secondary certificate or diploma exceeds the male share (13.8% and 9.6% respectively).

According to a recent survey of university and college graduates, marital status appears to have a strong influence on labour market status of graduates. As Table 6 indicates, single women with degrees were more likely than single men with degrees to be in the labour force and to be working full-time. The reverse was true for married women with either college or university degrees.

Canadian enrollment statistics reveal some interesting trends. Female full-time post-secondary enrollment rose from 7.4% of the 18-24 year female population in 1960/61 to 18.1% in 1978/79, very near the male enrollment rate of 20.4%. The proportion of full-time undergraduate students who are women has increased from 24.8% in 1960/61 to 44.9% in 1978/79. The proportion of full-time graduate students who are women has also increased, from 22.3% in 1970/71 to 33.3% in 1978.²

Patterns of specializations of female students also appear to be changing. While women continue to dominate traditional fields such as nursing, their involvement in less traditional specializations has increased. As Table 7 indicates,

² Calculated from Statistics Canada Education in Canada, Cat.81-229, 1973, Tables 35, 40, 41 and 1979, Tables 2, 3, 4.

TABLE 5

FEMALE AND MALE SHARE OF THE LABOUR FORCE, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CANADA, 1975-80

YEAR	0 - 8 YEARS			HIGH SCHOOL			SOME POST-SECONDARY			POST-SECONDARY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA			UNIVERSITY DEGREE		TOTAL	
	F	M		F	M		F	M		F	M		F	M	F	M
1975	15.0%	23.4%		51.4%	44.7%		9.2%	9.8%		17.1%	11.8%		7.4%	10.4%	100%	100%
1976	14.1	22.0		53.6	46.9		9.9	10.1		15.1	10.2		7.4	10.8	100%	100%
1977	13.0	20.7		54.3	48.5		10.2	9.9		14.6	9.8		7.9	11.0	100%	100%
1978	12.9	20.4		55.0	49.3		9.8	9.2		14.2	10.0		8.2	11.0	100%	100%
1979	12.6	19.6		57.0	51.6		8.2	8.0		13.6	9.3		8.6	11.4	100%	100%
1980	11.5	18.5		57.3	51.7		8.5	8.3		13.8	9.6		8.8	11.9	100%	100%

Note: Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Calculated from: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529, and The Labour Force, December 1979 and December 1980, Cat. 71-001

TABLE 6

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF GRADUATES BY QUALIFICATION LEVEL, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, CANADA, 1978

LABOUR FORCE STATUS						
QUALIFICATION AND MARITAL STATUS	WORKING FULL-TIME OR ACCEPTED A FULL- TIME JOB		WORKING PART-TIME	LOOKING FOR A JOB	NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB	TOTAL**
<u>ONE OR TWO YEAR COLLEGE DIPLOMA:</u>						
SINGLE	F	88%	5%	4%	2%	100%
	M	91	2	4	2	100
MARRIED	F	74	11	5	9	100
	M	94	1	3	1	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	75	-	-	-	100
	M	88	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	82	7	5	5	100
	M	91	2	4	2	100
<u>THREE OR FOUR YEAR COLLEGE DIPLOMA:</u>						
SINGLE	F	85%	4%	4%	6%	100%
	M	88	3	6	2	100
MARRIED	F	72	10	5	12	100
	M	93	2	3	1	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORED	F	-	-	-	-	100
	M	-	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	79	7	4	9	100
	M	90	2	5	2	100

TABLE 6 (continued)

LABOUR FORCE STATUS						
QUALIFICATION AND MARITAL STATUS		WORKING FULL-TIME OR ACCEPTED A FULL- TIME JOB	WORKING PART-TIME FOR A JOB	LOOKING FOR A JOB	NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB	TOTAL**
<u>BACHELOR'S OR FIRST PROFESSIONAL DEGREE</u>						
SINGLE	F	82%	6%	6%	6%	100%
	M	81	4	7	8	100
MARRIED	F	75	7	5	11	100
	M	90	2	3	4	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	78	-	-	-	100
	M	80	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	79	7	6	8	100
	M	85	3	5	6	100
<u>MASTER'S DEGREE:</u>						
SINGLE	F	79%	5%	4%	12%	100%
	M	74%	7%	4	15	100
MARRIED	F	71	9	5	14	100
	M	87	3	2	8	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	81	-	-	-	100
	M	77	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	75	7	4	13	100
	M	83	4	3	10	100

TABLE 6 (continued)

		LABOUR FORCE STATUS					
		WORKING FULL-TIME OR ACCEPTED A FULL- TIME JOB		WORKING PART-TIME	LOOKING FOR A JOB	NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB	TOTAL**
QUALIFICATION AND MARITAL STATUS							
DOCTORAL DEGREE:							
SINGLE	F	93%		7%	-	-	100%
	M	85		-	-	-	100
MARRIED	F	76		-	-	-	100
	M	94		-	-	-	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	-		-	-	-	100
	M	-		-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	81		-	-	-	100
	M	92		-	-	-	100

*Includes graduates who did not indicate their marital status.

**Includes graduates who did not indicate their employment status.

Source: Statistics Canada and the Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour, Higher Education-Hired?, Table 10

TABLE 7

FEMALE GRADUATES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL FIRST DEGREE GRADUATES,
SELECTED FIELDS AND SPECIALIZATIONS, CANADA, 1972-73 AND 1978

FIELD	FEMALE GRADUATES AS % OF TOTAL GRADUATES	
	1972-1973	1978
Agriculture and Biological Science	39.2%	47.3%
Agriculture	18.1	29.3
Biology	32.8	41.7
Veterinary Medicine	10.8	29.1
Zoology	24.3	34.3
Education	52.8	65.2
Physical Education	40.0	47.5
Engineering and Applied Science	1.8	6.4
Architecture	10.1	20.2
Engineering	1.3	4.4
Health Professions	50.4	57.4
Dental Studies & Research	6.7	17.7
Medical Studies & Research	18.6	29.9
Nursing	96.9	96.9
Pharmacy	49.5	60.3
Humanities	49.3	58.6
History	34.4	41.9
Languages	63.7	72.1
Math & Physical Sciences	22.0	25.1
Mathematics	27.3	29.4
Chemistry	20.8	24.3
Physics	9.8	11.3
Social Sciences	30.1	40.8
Economics	11.2	22.8
Commerce	10.3	24.0
Law	13.9	27.7
Social Work	57.0	74.6
Sociology	51.7	64.7
TOTAL	39.8%	48.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1979, Cat.
81-229, Table 8

universities are graduating increasing numbers of women in fields such as medicine, pharmacy, law, commerce and economics.

The economic necessity of work is obvious for the 40% of the female labour force that is single, separated, divorced or widowed.³ The contribution of the income of married women to families is also of major importance. The National Council of Welfare (1979, p.21) has estimated that 51% more two-spouse families would be poor if wives did not work outside the home.⁴ The Council report also provides a breakdown of labour force participation of wives under age 45 by family income (apart from the wife's earnings) (p.22). The highest female participation rates occur in families with the lowest income level. Sixty-seven percent of married women under age 45 held paid jobs in families whose total income (excluding the wife's earnings) was under \$5,000 in 1976. Fifty-seven percent of wives were in the labour force when family income was between \$15,000 and \$20,000 while 46% of wives from families with incomes of over \$25,000 had jobs.

Empirical research on the relationship between cyclical movements in the economy and the participation rates of women has not been conclusive. Ciuriak and Sims (Department of

³ A continuation in the trend of rapid increases in the incidence of divorce will result in increasing numbers of women who are self-supporting. In 1961, 171.8 couples out of every 100,000 married couples aged 15 and over were divorced. By 1978 this figure had risen to 1,019.6.

⁴ Statistics are from special tabulations based on Statistics Canada's 1976 Survey of Consumer Finances. The definition of "poor" used in the report is income below Statistics Canada's low income line.

Finance, 1980) cite a number of studies with widely differing results on the presence of a discouraged-worker effect and an added-worker effect.⁵ For any particular age group, at least one study indicated the presence of either a discouraged-worker effect and added-worker effect, or no significant cyclical effect at all. They conclude that:

This lack of consensus in the empirical literature, along with the apparent stability of the growth in female participation, suggests that cyclical influences may not be important factors underlying changes in female participation, or at least that they are not detectable at the aggregate level. (p.5)

The Department of Finance (1978) also concluded, after reviewing the 1971 Unemployment Insurance Act amendments which increased the benefit structure and reduced eligibility requirements, that participation rate patterns by age and sex were not affected, at the national level, by the U.I. changes. Rather, "changes in the participation rates of adult men and adult women in the post-1970 period were well in line with historical experience". (p.37)

⁵ Discouraged-worker and added-worker effects refer to a statistical relationship between a measure of cyclical activity (often unemployment rates) and participation rates. A discouraged-worker effect occurs when individuals become discouraged about their job prospects as unemployment rises and drop out of the labour market, leading to a negative unemployment participation relationship. An added-worker effect occurs when individuals enter the labour market to supplement the income of the family which has fallen due to unemployment of other family members, thereby creating a positive unemployment-participation relationship.

Projections of female participation rates have consistently underestimated the rate of growth in the female labour force.⁶ However, recent estimates by the Department of Finance (1980 pp.38-58) summarized in Table 8, are interesting in that, in one scenario at least, they indicate a significant reduction in the gap between male and female participation rates.⁷ In the high-growth scenario, participation rates for women 20+ rise to over 70% by 2000; in the low growth scenario they rise to just over 65%, compared to a projected male participation rate of 79.2%. In twenty years, the numbers of adult women and adult men in the Canadian labour force may be at similar levels.

EMPLOYMENT

Female employment has risen dramatically over the past decade and a half, reflecting the large increases in the participation of women in the labour force. Figure 5 shows trends in the employment-population ratio by sex and age from 1966. The employment-population ratio⁸ for women showed a

6 The Economic Council of Canada study, People and Jobs published in 1976, predicted that female participation rates would rise less rapidly in the late 1970s and early 1980s, "partly because many of the women who want to work are now in the labour force." (p. 26) A 1978 study by the Department of Finance predicted female participation rates of 47.4% in 1981, 48.9% in 1986 and 49.5% in 1990.

7 These estimates were developed on the basis of judgements as to what differentials between male and female participation rates would exist in 2000 and the time path of the narrowing of these differentials over the next 20 years.

8 The employment population ratio represents employment as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over.

TABLE 8

PAST AND PROJECTED PARTICIPATION RATES, FEMALE AND MALE, AGED
20 AND OVER, CANADA.

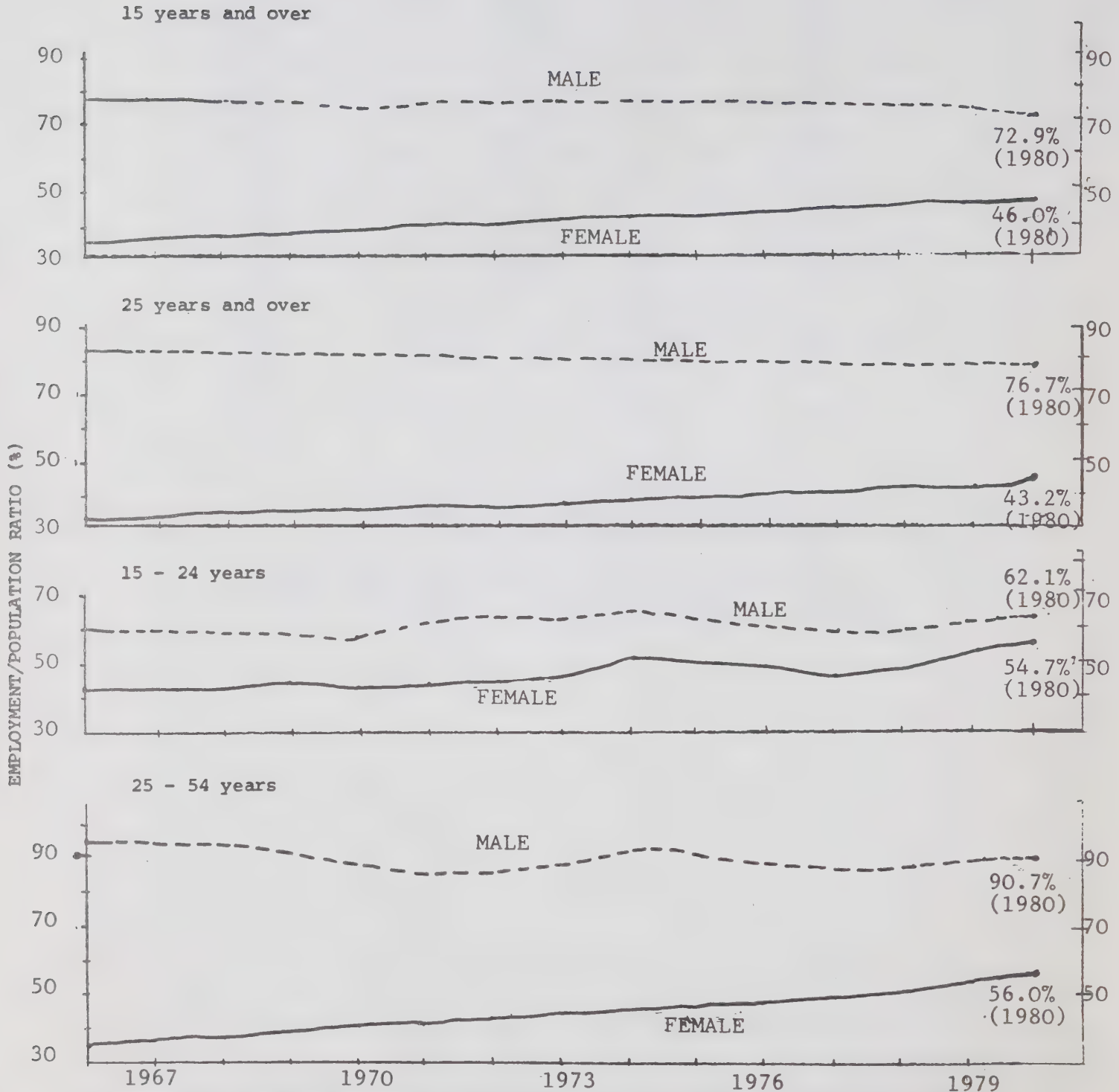
<u>PARTICIPATION RATE*</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>MEN</u>
1953		23.0		86.4
1960		28.4		86.0
1965		33.1		84.7
1970		38.2		83.2
1975		43.9		82.4
1979		48.6		81.7
1985		55.6		81.5
1990	59.4		61.1	80.8
1995	62.6		66.0	80.0
2000	65.3		70.6	79.2

*Estimates for years prior to 1975 have been adjusted to correspond to new Labour Force Survey definitions.

Source: Ciuriak and Sims, Participation Rate and Labour Force
Growth in Canada, Department of Finance, Table 16

Figure 5

EMPLOYMENT-POPULATION RATIOS BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS,
CANADA, 1966-1980



Source: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1979
Cat. 71-201

1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, 1980, Cat. 71-001

34.5% increase between 1966 and 1980, compared to a decrease of 5.5% for men over the same period. That is, the proportion of women in the working-age population who actually have jobs has increased by nearly one-third since 1966.

As with participation rate trends, adult women experienced the bulk of this rapid increase in employment with a nearly 50% growth rate in the proportion of the female working-age population with jobs. The proportion of adult male working-age population (25-54 years) with jobs showed a decrease of 4.4% over this period. While both young men and women aged 15-24 years had higher employment-population ratios in 1980 than 1966, the size of the increase for females (18.9%) was much greater than that of males (3.3%).

While large increases in employment have changed the degree of participation of women in the Canadian work force, the nature of their participation has remained remarkably unchanged. Women have been, and continue to be, concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations and industries. Occupational and industrial segregation is one of the most dramatic facts of the position of women in the Canadian labour market.

Women have always been concentrated into a narrow range of jobs. While this high concentration has remained, the types of jobs have changed with the changing economic environment. At the beginning of this century, three occupations (domestic service, teaching and dress-makers and seamstresses) accounted for 60% of all female employment (Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1975, p.1). In 1980 over 60% of all women worked at three jobs as well - clerical, sales and service. If occupations in teaching and medicine and health are included, approximately 78% of employed women are accounted for. Male-dominated jobs in processing, machining, product fabricating, construction trades, transport and other equipment operating and materials handling together comprise only 10% of female employment.

As Table 9 indicates, shifts in the occupational distribution of female employment have been slight. The share of female employment increased in every occupational group over the period 1975 to 1980. The largest increases were registered in male-dominated occupations such as construction, transportation and materials handling. However, the numbers of women in these occupations are so small that the overall pattern of female employment has remained largely unchanged. Occupations in construction, transportation and materials handling together accounted for only 2.6% of total female employment in 1980, compared to 2.3% in 1975.

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION, CANADA, 1975 AND 1980

<u>OCCUPATION</u>		<u>% OF TOTAL FEMALE EMPLOYMENT</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS FEMALE</u>
Managerial, Professional,* etc.	1975	23.5%	39.6%
	1980	23.9%	41.3%
Clerical	1975	36.1%	75.0%
	1980	34.6%	78.2%
Sales	1975	10.4	34.1
	1980	10.4	39.6
Service	1975	16.6	49.6
	1980	18.1	54.0
Primary Occupations	1975	3.1	16.7
	1980	2.9	18.3
Processing	1975	8.1	18.6
	1980	7.5	19.3
Construction	1975	0.1	0.6
	1980	0.2	1.2
Transportation	1975	0.4	3.1
	1980	0.6	5.7
Materials Handling & Other Crafts	1975	1.8	16.4
	1980	1.8	18.4
TOTAL	1975	100.0%	36.4%
	1980	100.0%	39.7%

*Includes managerial and administrative, natural sciences, social sciences, religion, teaching, medicine and health, artistic and recreational occupations.

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. 71-001

Detailed occupational census data show that in 1971 64% of the female labour force was employed in 20 of 500 occupational groups. Further, almost half the men in the labour force are in occupations containing fewer than 5% females per occupation. Over two-thirds of all employed women are in occupations in which they represent a strong majority.

The evidence of occupational segregation becomes even clearer when job categories are broken down to finer levels. Armstrong and Armstrong (1978, pp.32-33) identified from Census data the ten consistently leading female occupations over the last thirty years. As Table 10 indicates, nearly half of all women worked in these occupations in 1971. In addition, they outnumbered the men in these jobs in every case but one. Removing personal service workers from the list⁹ leaves about 39% of all employed women in these jobs in 1941 and 43% of all employed women in 1971. Over the thirty year period covered by these Census data, "women's work" has remained remarkably stable.

Armstrong and Armstrong point out the inferiority of the employment position of women reflected in these data. Elementary and kindergarten teachers were 82.3% female while more of the higher income jobs as secondary school teachers were done by men (55.5% male). Similarly, 90.9% of sewing machine operators were female but 72.6% of the foremen in fabricating occupations were male.

⁹ The very large decline in the number of domestic servants would distort the trend in all other jobs.

TABLE 10

SIMILAR LEADING FEMALE OCCUPATIONS, CANADA, 1971

OCCUPATION	FEMALE % OF OCCUPATION	% OF TOTAL FEMALE WORKERS
Stenographers and typists	96.9	12.3
Secretaries and Stenographers	97.4	9.1
Typists and clerk-typists	95.6	3.2
Salespersons	51.0	6.7
Salesmen and sales persons, commodities, n.e.c.1	21.8	0.6
Sales clerks, commodities	66.0	6.0
Service station attendants	4.3	-
Personal service workers	93.5	3.4
Chambermaids and house men	95.5	0.5
Babysitters	96.6	0.8
Personal service workers, n.e.c.	92.2	2.1
Teachers	66.0	6.4
Elementary and kindergarten	82.3	4.5
Secondary school	44.5	1.9
Fabricators, assemblers, and repairers of textiles, fur and leather products	76.0	3.4
Foremen	27.4	0.1
Patternmakers, markers, and cutters	32.6	0.1

(continued on next page)

TABLE 10 (continued)

OCCUPATION	FEMALE % OF OCCUPATION	% OF TOTAL FEMALE WORKERS
Tailors and dressmakers	73.0	0.6
Furriers	48.8	-
Milliners, hat and cap makers	57.4	-
Sewing machine operators, textile and similar materials	90.1	2.2
Inspectors, testers, graders and samplers	84.1	0.1
Fabricators, assemblers and repairers, n.e.c.	72.3	0.3
Graduate Nurses	95.4	3.9
Supervisors, nursing occupations	92.8	0.5
Nurses, graduate, except supervisors	95.8	3.4
Waiters and bartenders	76.6	4.1
Waiters, hostesses, and stewards (food and beverages)	82.9	4.0
Bartenders	14.5	0.1
Nursing assistants, aides and orderlies	79.2	2.9
Nursing assistants	91.9	0.9
Nursing aides and orderlies	74.4	2.0
Telephone operators	95.9	1.2
Janitors, charworkers and cleaners	32.4	2.1
TOTAL	72.0	46.4

1 N.e.c. means not elsewhere classified: means less than 0.1 per cent.

Source: The Double Ghetto, Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, Table 7, p. 33

Data from a 1978 survey of male and female post-secondary graduates indicate that men and women with the same training tend to find jobs in quite different fields, with women highly concentrated in clerical occupations. The largest occupation for female graduates with one, two, three and four year college diplomas in business, management and commerce studies was clerical; for male graduates with the same specialization, the largest occupational groups were managerial and sales (Statistics Canada, 1980).

The movement of women into jobs traditionally dominated by men has been slow. The 1971 Census is the most recent source of data on employment in detailed occupational categories. As Table 11 indicates, the presence of women in some male-dominated jobs is not enough to improve the overall picture of occupational segregation.

The conclusions of an American study of female penetration into non-traditional occupations may be instructive for the Canadian situation. Beatrice Reubens and Edwin Reubens (1977, p.103) studied changes in the sex composition of over 400 jobs from 1960 to 1970. They found that the movement of women into jobs traditionally held by men proceeds most rapidly in fields where women have a strong position in related female-intensive fields which are not cut off from the male-intensive jobs by requirements of education, training, physical characteristics or other segmenting influences. This pattern is obvious in female breakthroughs in male-dominated jobs in the clerical field. They also identified the creation of new

TABLE 11

FEMALE WORKERS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, CANADA, 1971

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>FEMALE % OF OCCUPATION</u>	<u>% OF ALL FEMALE WORKERS</u>
Dentists	4.7%	-
Dental hygienists, assistants, & technicians	76.6	0.3%
University Teachers	16.7	0.1
Physicians & Surgeons	10.1	0.1
Lawyers & Notaries	4.8	-
Industrial Engineers	3.3	-
Mail Carriers	7.6	0.1
Mail & Postal Clerks	43.9	0.5
Forestry Conservation Occupations	0.1	-
Log inspecting & related	-	-
Labouring, mining & quarrying	0.9	-
Metal processing	6.3	-
Motor vehicle assembly	5.2	0.1
Electrical equipment assembly	48.0	0.3
Business & commercial machine repairing	0.7	-
Brick and stone masons and tile setters	0.5	-
Plumbers	0.6	-

Source: Calculated from 1971 Census, Vol. 3.2, Table 8

female ghettos in jobs which men are leaving, voluntarily or involuntarily. The distribution of male employment growth revealed a high concentration in occupational groups which included many of the best opportunities for high paid, supervisory, skilled and professional posts.

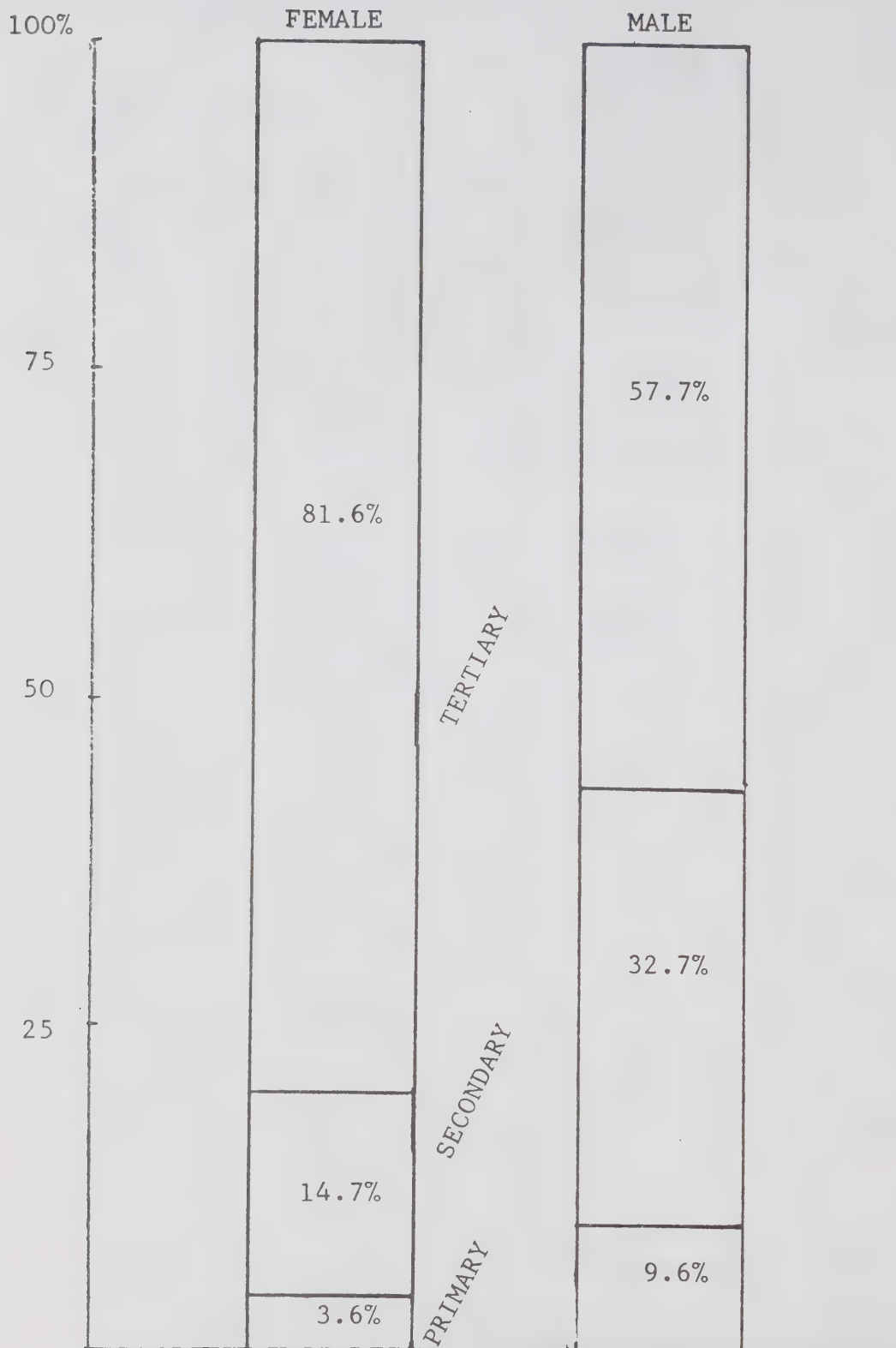
Women are also concentrated in certain industries in our economy. Figure 6 shows the percentage of male and female workers in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors.¹⁰ Women are greatly under-represented in the goods-producing sector of the economy and greatly over-represented in the service-producing sector. As Table 12 indicates, women are concentrated in tertiary industries where they form a large part of the work force.

In 1951, two-thirds of all women worked in the four industries of trade, finance, insurance and real estate; community, business and personal services; and public administration and defence (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978, p.24). In 1971, after a decade and a half of dramatically increasing female participation in the labour force, over three-quarters of all women workers were concentrated in these industries. In contrast, less than 5% of all female workers were employed in primary industries. The proportion of the female labour force in manufacturing actually declined from 21.3% in 1941 to 15.3% in 1971. The Census data indicate that women have

¹⁰ Primary sector includes: agriculture; forestry and fishing, mining.
Secondary sector includes: manufacturing; construction.
Tertiary sector includes: trade; finance, insurance and real estate; service; transportation; communication and utilities; public administration.

Figure 6

INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SEX,
CANADA, 1980



Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force Dec. 1980
Cat. 71-001

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY, CANADA, 1975 AND 1980

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>% OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT</u>	<u>% OF EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS FEMALE</u>	
Agriculture	1975	3.2%	22.4%
	1980	3.0	26.4
Other Primary Industries	1975	0.4	6.8
	1980	0.7	10.1
Manufacturing	1975	13.6	24.6
	1980	13.4	26.8
Construction	1975	1.2	6.6
	1980	1.3	8.7
Transportation, Communication & Other Utilities	1975	4.4	18.4
	1980	4.4	20.8
Trade	1975	19.1	34.3
	1980	18.7	43.2
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	1975	8.0	57.2
	1980	8.5	58.7
Service	1975	43.9	58.9
	1980	44.1	60.5
Public Administration	1975	6.2	31.6
	1980	6.0	34.1
TOTAL	1975	100.0%	36.4%
	1980	100.0%	39.7%

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980,
Cat. 71-001, Table 77

found jobs, by and large, in industries and occupations which have experienced increased demands for labour and which already contained a high proportion of women.

More recent statistics indicate that industrial segregation of women has remained stable. In 1975, 81.6% of women were employed in tertiary industries; the 1980 statistic was 81.7%.

In the American experience:

"the rapidly growing areas of work have been those in which technological advances have had less impact on productivity; where more work has required more workers; and where labour costs have accounted for a high proportion of total costs."¹¹

As a result, Armstrong and Armstrong argue, salaries tend to be low. When industries are ranked by the level of average weekly earnings, a consistent pattern emerges - as industry wages increase, the proportion of female workers decreases. (p.28).

In addition to high levels of occupational and industrial concentration, women's employment is characterized by a high degree of part-time work.¹² In 1980, 72.5% of all part-time jobs were held by women. Nearly one quarter of all work done by women is part-time, compared to less than 6% of the work done by men.

¹¹ Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America, New York, 1959 cited in Armstrong and Armstrong, p. 27.

¹² Defined by Statistics Canada to be less than 30 hours per week.

As Figure 7 indicates, the growth of part-time employment has exceeded that of full-time employment since 1966, except for the period 1971 to 1973. Similarly, female part-time employment grew faster than female full-time employment in all periods except 1972/73.

Over one million jobs in service-producing industries were part-time in 1980. The bulk of these were in community, business and personal services (with 21.4% of total industry employment in part-time) and trade (with 21.9% of total industry employment in part-time).

Reflecting this industry pattern, 67.4% of total part-time employment was in clerical, sales and service occupations. Only in the construction industry do women account for less than half of all part-time workers.

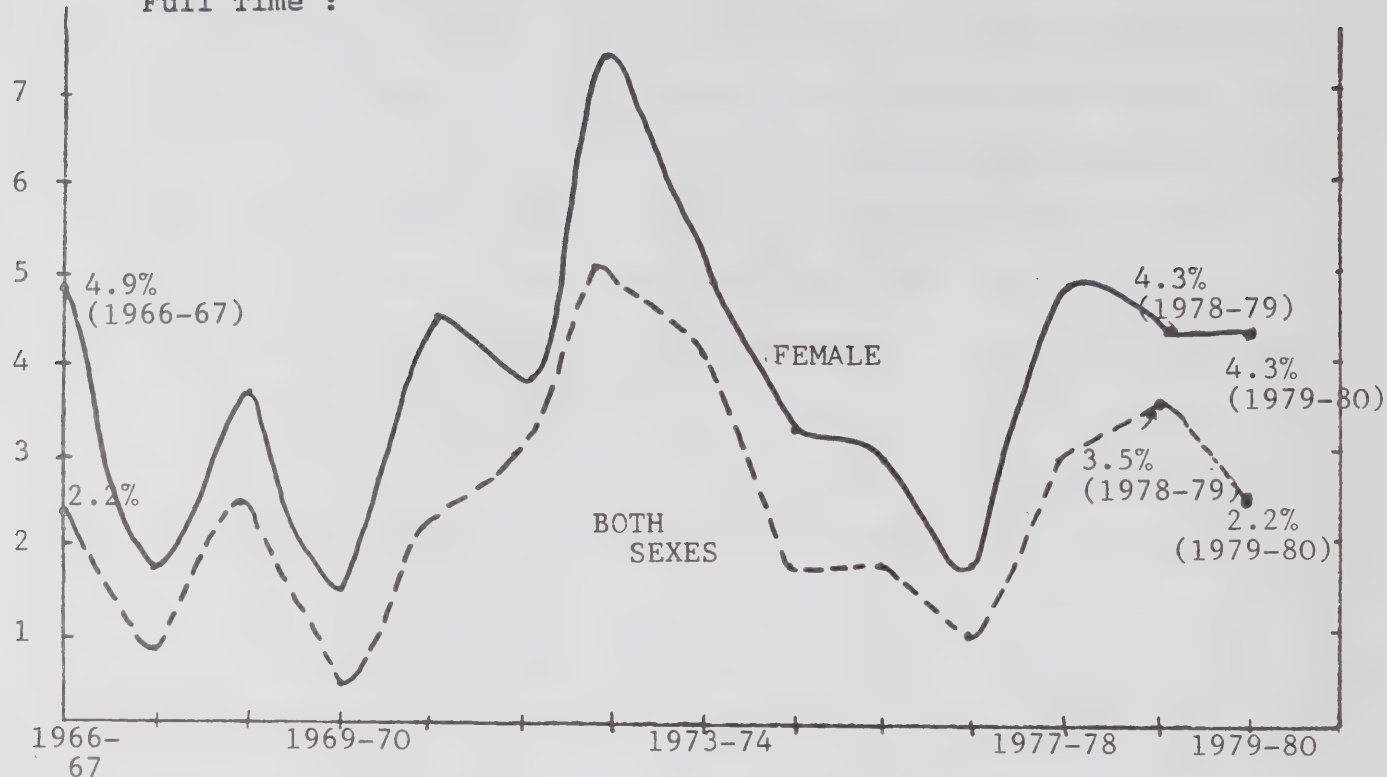
The heaviest concentration of female part-time employment occurs among married women and women aged 25-44 years. Married women form 63.1% of all female part-time workers. In contrast, male part-time workers are most likely to be single (single men hold 75.7% of all part-time jobs held by men) and young (young men aged 15-24 years account for 72.5% of male part-time employment).

Trends by province in part-time employment by sex, age and marital status are similar to national trends. In all provinces, women perform at least twice as much part-time work as men.

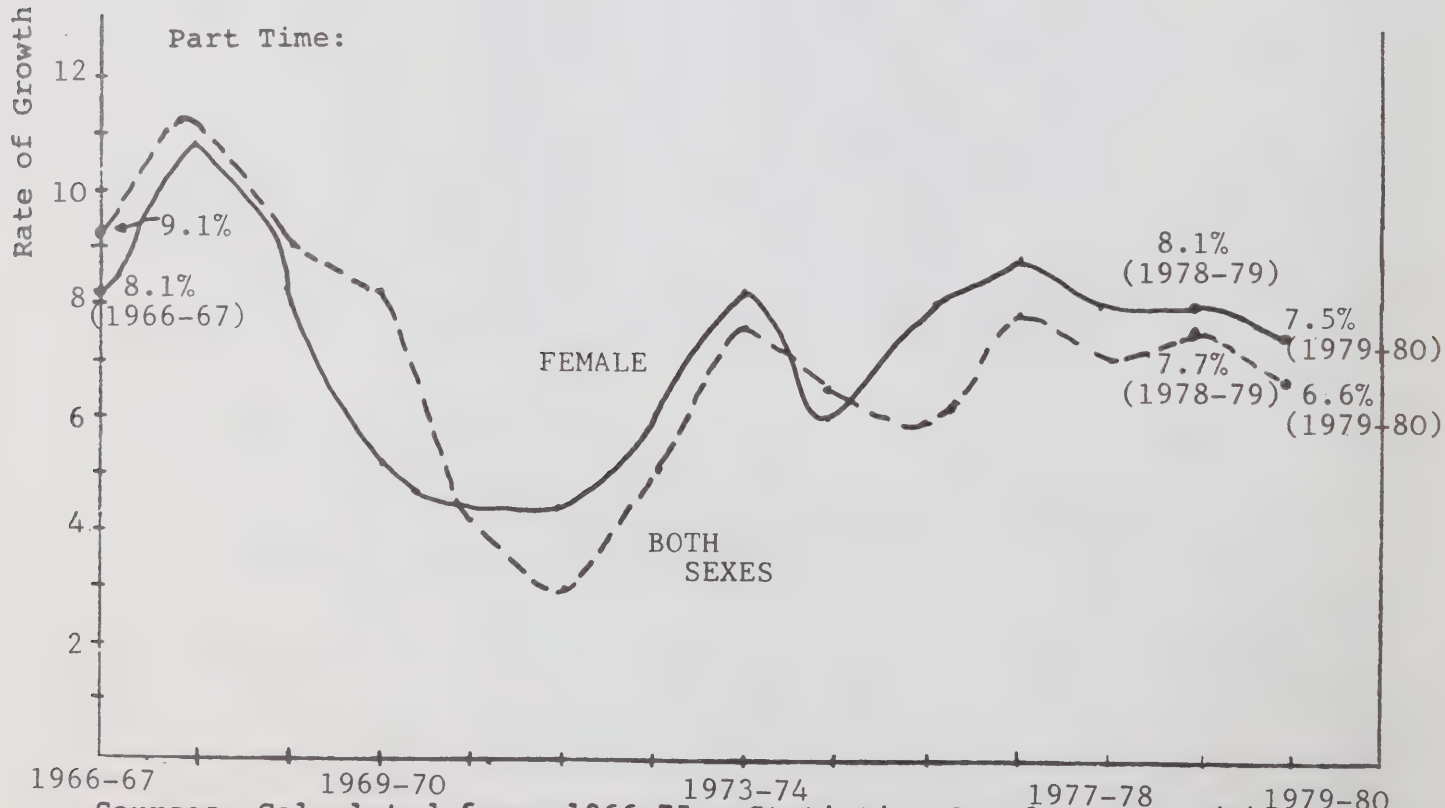
Figure 7

GROWTH RATES OF PART TIME AND FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT,
CANADA, 1966 to 1980

Full Time :



Part Time:



Sources: Calculated from: 1966-75 - Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division (unpublished data series); 1976-79-Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics 1979, Cat. 71-201; 1980 - 40 - Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. 71-001.

Women also perform more unpaid work than do men. In 1980 2.3% of all employed women were unpaid family workers,¹³ compared to 0.4% of all male workers. Most of the unpaid work occurs in agriculture where almost half of all female workers were unpaid, compared to about 6% of the men.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Women are disproportionately represented among the unemployed. Although they form 40% of the labour force, women account for 45% of total unemployment. The overwhelming pattern which emerges when occupational, industrial and regional aspects are considered is the uniformity with which female unemployment rates exceed those of men.

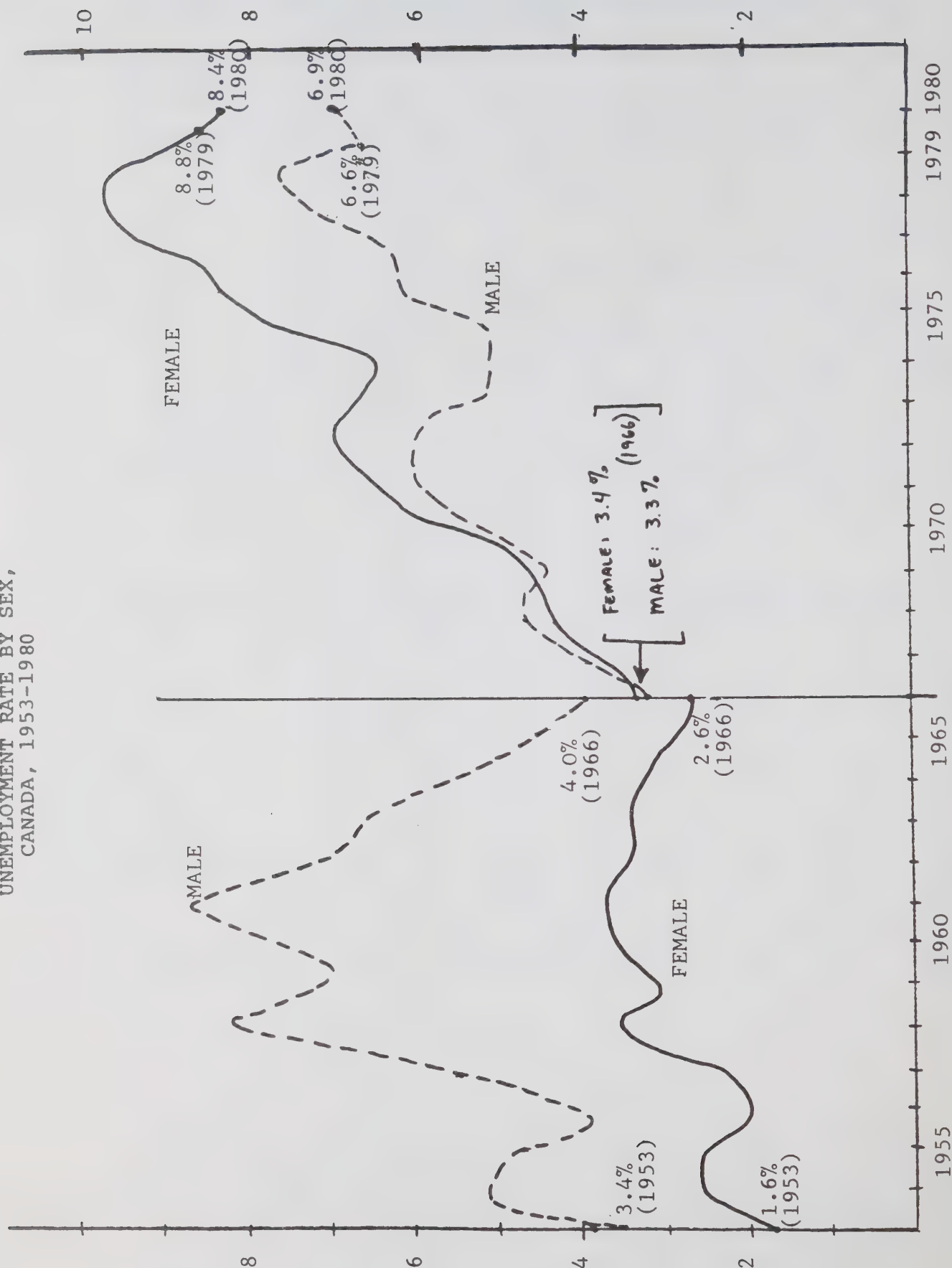
As Figure 8 indicates, female unemployment rates have consistently exceeded those of men every year since 1969. In 1980, 8.4% of the female labour force (or 388,000 women) were unemployed, compared to 6.9% of the male labour force.

It is interesting to note the sharp upward revision in the female unemployment rate which occurred as a result of the 1975 revisions to the Labour Force Survey. Under the old Labour Force Survey, the female unemployment rate had been lower than the male rate each year since 1953. In 1975 the female unemployment rate was 6.4%, compared to the male unemployment rate of 7.4%.

¹³ Defined by Statistics Canada as a member of a family who works to augment another family member's income but who does not receive a salary on his/her own (for example, a wife working without pay in a family farm or business).

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY SEX,
CANADA, 1953-1980

Figure 8



Sources: 1953-66: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1975, Cat. 71-001
 1966-79: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1979, Cat. 71-201
 1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1980, Cat. 71-001

The questions relating to unemployment in the old Labour Force Survey were indirect: "What did this person do mostly last week?" The 1975 revisions, among other things, changed these questions to: "In the past 4 weeks, has this person looked for another job?" Women who fulfilled their ongoing household responsibilities while looking for work were probably not considered as truly looking for work under the old survey and therefore were not counted as unemployed or in the labour force under the first set of questions. Job search activity (and hence incidence of unemployment) would more likely be accurately captured by the second set of questions.

As a result of the revisions, the female unemployment rate for 1975 was moved up from 6.4% to 8.1%. The male unemployment rate was revised down from 7.4% to 6.2%.¹⁴

In all provinces, women experience a higher rate of unemployment than do men. As Table 13 indicates, women in Quebec, British Columbia and the Maritimes suffer the highest rates of unemployment.

In every industry except construction, female unemployment was higher than male unemployment each year from 1975 to 1980. The highest female unemployment rate was registered in the manufacturing sector. The female unemployment rate was high also in the female-dominated industries of trade (7.9%) and community, business and personal service (7.1%).

¹⁴ Unless otherwise noted, Labour Force Survey data from various years are directly comparable due to Statistics Canada data adjustment.

TABLE 13

FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY PROVINCE, 1980

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>	<u>RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>
Canada	8.4%	1.22
Newfoundland	13.6	1.01
P.E.I.	-*	-
Nova Scotia	10.5	1.12
New Brunswick	11.9	1.13
Quebec	10.7	1.15
Ontario	7.7	1.24
Manitoba	6.1	1.20
Saskatchewan	5.6	1.52
Alberta	4.3	1.30
British Columbia	8.5	1.49

* No sex breakdown available.

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force,
December 1980, Cat. 71-0001, Table 93

From 1975 to 1980, women in every occupational group experienced higher rates of unemployment than did men. The highest female unemployment rates were in processing (14.6%), materials handling (14.3%), product fabricating (12.6%) and service (10.3%). The female unemployment rate was about double the male rate in the following occupations: managerial and administrative (female unemployment rate 4.1%); teaching (4.0%), and processing.

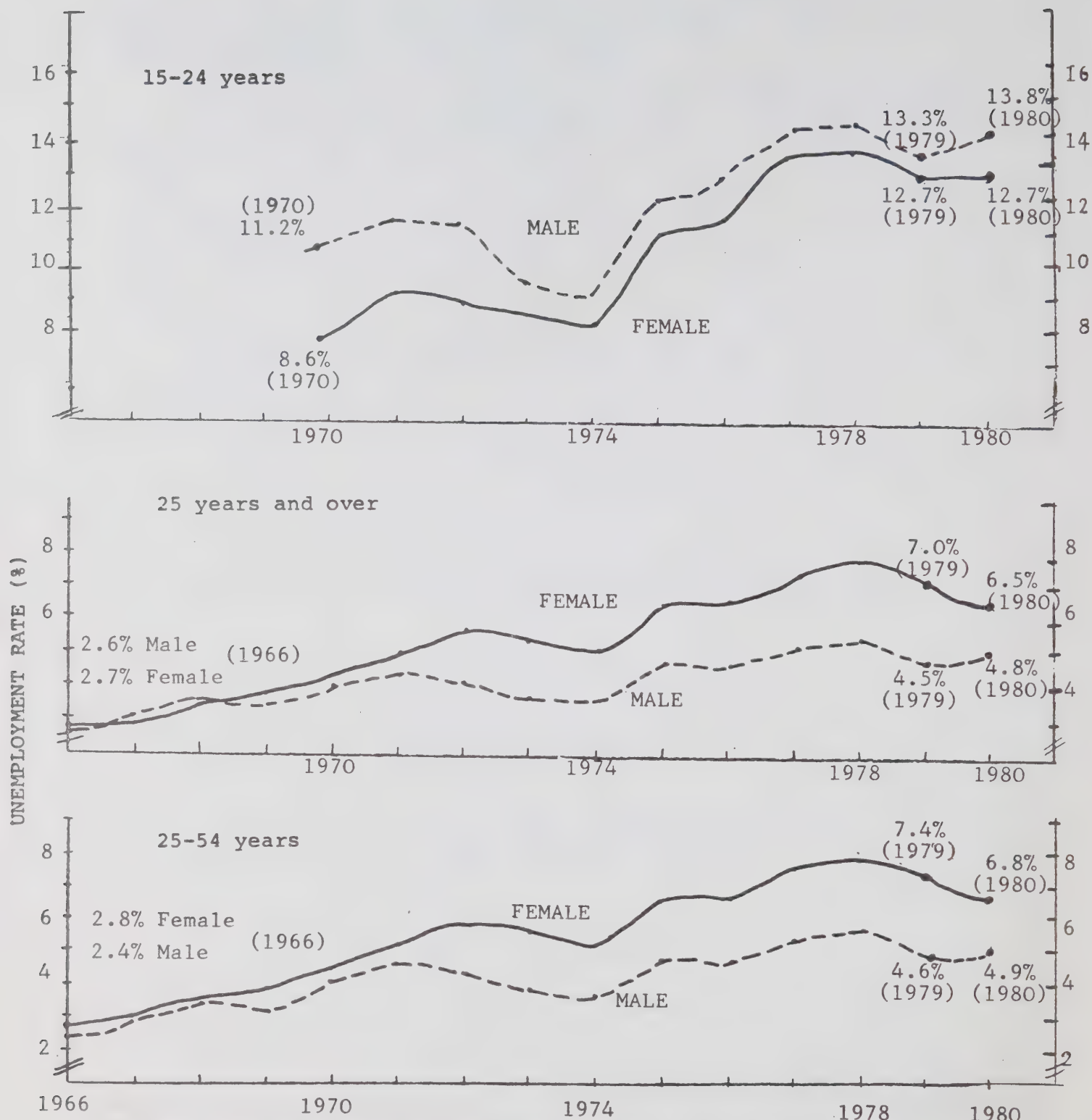
Unlike their adult counterparts, women aged 15-24 years have a lower unemployment rate than men 15-24 years (see Figure 9). However, the differential between the male and female rates has been steadily declining. In 1970 the unemployment rate for young women was about 23% lower than that for young men; by 1980 the female rate was only 8% lower than the male rate.

The unemployment rate for females 25-54 years has also worsened significantly in relation to changes in the male unemployment rate. In 1966, the unemployment rate for women aged 25-54 years was 17% higher than the male unemployment rate for the same age group; by 1980 the female rate was 39% higher.

Unemployment rates for both men and women are highest for single people, but single women have a lower unemployment rate than single men (see Table 14). The situation of married women is particularly dramatic. The unemployment rate for married women in 1980 was 74% higher than the rate for married men.

Figure 9

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE GROUP,
CANADA, 1966-1980**



Source: 1966-1979: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics 1979, Catalogue 71-201
 1980: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Dec. 1980, Catalogue 71-001

TABLE 14

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, CANADA, 1975-1980

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>		<u>SINGLE</u>		<u>OTHER</u>	
	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>
1975	7.9%	4.0%	9.1%	12.2%	6.4%	8.2%
1976	8.0	3.9	9.5	12.9	7.4	7.9
1977	8.9	4.5	11.0	14.6	7.7	8.5
1978	9.1	4.8	11.0	14.8	8.8	9.5
1979	8.0	4.1	10.4	13.0	8.2	7.9
1980	7.5	4.3	10.2	13.2	8.6	8.8

Source: 1975-1979: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1979, Cat. 71-201.

1980-: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1980, Cat. 71-001

The largest component of total female unemployment occurred among re-entrants to the labour force. In 1980 over one-third of total female unemployment was experienced by this group. Of the 137,000 women re-entering the labour force in 1980, almost 47% had been out of the labour force more than one year. Re-entrants accounted for about 17% of male unemployment.

Similarly, new entrants to the labour force accounted for a larger portion of female unemployment (7.0%) than male unemployment (4.2%). The portion of total unemployed who were "job leavers" (excluding re-entrants) was almost similar for women (23% of female unemployment) and men (19.6% of male unemployment). A much greater proportion of unemployed men were "job losers" - over 59.3%, compared to 34.8% of unemployed women.

The unemployment rates presented above exclude those people who want jobs but who have stopped looking for work because they believe no work is available. This "hidden unemployment" can significantly increase the official unemployment rates. In 1980 nearly 27,000 women wanted jobs but did not believe that work was available and therefore were not counted in the official estimates of the unemployed. Table 15 presents the numbers of persons who believed no work was available, along with unemployment rates adjusted to include these individuals. The inclusion of these individuals in the definition of unemployment raises the 1980 female unemployment rate to 8.9% and the male unemployment rate to 7.3%.

TABLE 15

PERSONS BELIEVING NO WORK AVAILABLE AND ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATES,* CANADA, 1976-1980

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>BELIEVE NO WORK AVAILABLE</u>	
	<u>FEMALE</u> ('000)	<u>MALE</u> ('000)
1976	16	17
1977	23	22
1978	28	25
1979	25	24

* * *

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>		<u>MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>	
	<u>UNADJUSTED</u>	<u>ADJUSTED*</u>	<u>UNADJUSTED</u>	<u>ADJUSTED*</u>
1976	8.4%	8.8%	6.3%	6.6%
1977	9.4	10.0	7.3	7.6
1978	9.6	10.2	7.6	7.9
1979	8.8	9.3	6.6	7.0

* Adjustments were made by adding the number of persons believing no work available to total unemployment (as defined by the Labour Force Survey) and to total labour force and then calculating the unemployment rate.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529 and The Labour Force, December 1979, Cat. 71-001

WAGES AND INCOMES

In 1978, full-year women workers earned, on average, \$10,098 or about 58% of the average male income (Statistics Canada, #13-207, 1978, p.70).¹⁵ This wage gap has shown little sign of closing.¹⁶

A recent study by Statistics Canada (1980) indicates that, for the same level of educational qualifications, male graduates earn more than female graduates. Income data were collected in 1978 for 1976 graduates of community colleges and universities. At each diploma level, earnings of men employed full-time exceeded those of women. At the bachelor's degree level, for instance, the median female salary was \$14,150 compared to the median male salary of \$15,390. Male earnings exceeded female earnings in all fields of study, with the exception of "other medical and dental services" for two-year diploma holders where average female earnings exceeded those of men by ten dollars.

Male average earnings exceed female average earnings in all occupational groups, even those dominated by women. Table 16 shows the relationship between male and female earnings for

¹⁵ These figures are average earned income for full-year workers, i.e. employees who worked 50-52 weeks in 1978.

¹⁶ As R. Blumrosen (1979) points out, the wage differential between women and men has not changed much since Biblical days when "a male between 20 and 60 years shall be valued at 50 shekels. . . If it is a female she shall be valued at 30 shekels. (Leviticus 27:3-4)".

TABLE 16

RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE EARNINGS, FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES, CANADA,
1972 and 1978

<u>OCCUPATION*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1978</u>
All occupations	54.6%	58.0%
Managerial	51.6	54.4
Professional	58.2	61.7
Clerical	63.9	66.6
Sales	39.4	43.7
Service	39.0	48.1
Processing and Machining	71.0	53.5
Product Fabricating	52.2	52.0
Transport and Communication	53.6	66.9

* Sample was inadequate to estimate female earnings in Farming and Construction.

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Distribution By Size in Canada, Cat. 13-207, 1972 and 1978

eight occupational groups for the years 1972 and 1978. In occupations in processing and machining, the earnings position of women relative to men has actually deteriorated.

Using 1971 census data to identify the 23 largest female occupations at a more disaggregate level, Armstrong and Armstrong show that in each occupation, men's earnings exceed those of women (1978, p.39). Similar wage disparities are evident in the hourly and weekly wage rates collected by Labour Canada (1979). Data on wage rates by sex were collected for seventy similarly described occupations in particular industries. In only two cases did female wage rates exceed male wage rates for similar occupations in the same industry.¹⁷ In the remaining 68 occupations, male wage rates were higher than wage rates paid to women. In 29 occupations, the disparity between female and male rates had actually increased from the level of the previous year.

The Women's Bureau, Labour Canada (1975, p.83) attempted to control for age and level of education in comparing incomes of male and female full-time, full-year workers in 147 selected occupations. Even when these factors were taken into account, men's earnings exceeded those of women in 94.2% of the cases.

¹⁷ These occupations were psychiatric attendant, hospital; and counter attendant, cafeteria.

After accounting for male-female differences in the work year, occupational distribution, and experience and education, an unexplained differential between male and female wages persists. As Sylvia Ostry (1968) concluded, "it seems clear that some portion of the residual differential stemmed from 'discrimination', i.e. from the fact that women were paid less than men for comparable work" (p.42). Boyd and Humphreys (1979) also found that:

Sex differences in worker characteristics do not account for the income gap which exists between native born full time paid men and women....This income gap almost totally reflects sex differences in the utilization of income relevant characteristics, with women receiving lower returns to years in the labour force, and current occupational status (p.410).

Ostry's estimate of a 15-22% earnings gap due to discrimination was based on male and female wages for comparable work without investigating the comparable worth of male and female jobs. As such, it represents only a minimum estimate of the wage gap. The undervaluing of work done by women is a factor which must also be considered.

As Ruth Blumrosen (1979) has written:

It has been well established that a division of labour between the sexes exists in every known society, that in every society the value put on the work reflects the status of those traditionally allocated that work, and that work identified with women is always considered less valuable than that done by men, regardless of its difficulty or contribution....Thus, the anthropological conclusion is that 'in a culture where men fish and women weave, it is axiomatic that whichever

activity is assigned to the male is the activity with the greater prestige, power, status and rewards.' (K. Millett, Sexual Politics). The anthropologist Margaret Mead adds, 'One aspect of the social valuation of different types of labour is the differential prestige of men's activities and women's activities. Whatever men do-even if it is dressing dolls for religious ceremonies-is more prestigious than what women do and is treated as a higher achievement.' (M. Mead, Prehistory and the Woman) (p.416)

UNIONIZATION

The degree of unionization among women workers is less than that of their male counterparts. In 1978, the 835,263 women union members represented 19.7% of all women in the labour force, compared to 31.2% of the male labour force that is unionized.¹⁸ However, women's representation in organized labour has been rising rapidly. Between 1966 and 1976 the number of male union members increased by 40%, while the number of female union members increased by 160% (White, 1980, p.6). In 1978, women comprised 28.7% of all union members in Canada (Statistics Canada, #71-202, 1978).

As White points out, most women have been drawn into the labour force to work in industries which have been expanding since World War II, and which do not have a long

¹⁸ Calculated from Statistics Canada, Corporations and Labour Unions Return Act, Part II-Labour Unions, 1978, Cat. #71-202, Table XXV. p. 44. These statistics exclude unions with less than 100 workers. Labour Canada estimated that in 1977 only 2.6% of the total Canadian union membership fell into this category.

history of union activity, including public administration, trade, finance and services. As Table 17 indicates, the industries in which women are concentrated generally are not highly unionized.

While women are still under-represented on union executives, the situation has improved. In 1970 women formed 9.8% of all members on union executive boards; in 1978 they were 17.5% of all members on union executive boards (White, p.23).

Patterns of unionization by province differ for men and women. As Table 18 indicates, Quebec has the greatest degree of unionization of the female labour force, followed by New Brunswick, British Columbia and Newfoundland. Within the male labour force, the highest degree of unionization occurs in British Columbia, followed by Newfoundland and New Brunswick.

TABLE 17

PROPORTION OF WOMEN WORKERS AND DEGREE OF UNIONIZATION BY
INDUSTRY, CANADA, JANUARY, 1977

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>% OF EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS FEMALE</u>	<u>% OF ALL WORKERS UNIONIZED</u>
Community, Business & Personal Services	59.5%	29.0%
Finance	57.3	1.5
Trade	40.0	7.9
Public Administration	32.5	65.8
Manufacturing	25.0	46.0
Agriculture	25.0	0.6
Transportation	19.3	53.7
Other Primary	7.9	41.3
Construction	7.4	47.9
All Industries	37.5%	32.1%

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-78, Cat. 71-529, Table 16, and Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, 1977 Edition, Part III, Table 1

TABLE 18

UNIONIZATION BY SEX AND PROVINCE, 1977

<u>PROVINCE</u>	UNION MEMBERS AS PERCENTAGE OF PAID WORKERS	
	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>MALE</u>
Quebec	33.0%	40.1%
New Brunswick	31.0	43.7
British Columbia	30.8	54.7
Newfoundland	30.3	50.4
Saskatchewan	29.1	33.3
Manitoba	28.8	39.3
Prince Edward Island	27.3	27.7
Nova Scotia	27.0	40.5
Ontario	22.0	40.6
Alberta	20.4	29.9

Source: Women's Bureau, Labour Canada Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, 1977 edition, Part III, Table 3

DOUBLE DISADVANTAGE

Particular groups of women are "doubly disadvantaged" in that they face an additional disadvantage in the labour market besides that of sex. The labour market position of women who are handicapped, immigrant or Native is usually worse than that of women in general.

Statistics on the position of handicapped people of both sexes in the labour market are sparse. However, such studies as there are indicate that disabled women face higher rates of unemployment and receive lower incomes than disabled men. For example, one study revealed that the average income of blind men in British Columbia was \$5,673 in 1977 while the average income of blind women was \$2,688 (Patterson, p.5). Similarly, a 1972 American study (President's Committee on the Handicapped, 1972) showed that employment rates of the disabled men were much higher than those of disabled women. Approximately 47% of disabled men were employed (compared to 84.6% of the total male population) while only 14.7% of disabled women were employed (compared to 38.7% of the female population).

As with women in general, the largest occupational category for immigrant women was clerical. Over one-fourth of all immigrant women worked at clerical jobs in 1971, the latest year for which data are available (Arnopolous, 1979, p.58). Service occupations form the second largest occupational group

for immigrant women. They are over-represented in jobs in product fabricating and assembling relative to both women and immigrant men. Most employment in this occupational category is found in the garment industry.

Data on the labour market position of Native women are very sparse. One of the four reports available on the economic status of Native women concludes that:

Indian women likely rank among the most severely disadvantaged in Canadian society. They are worse off economically than both Indian men and Canadian women (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979, p.31)

III. ANALYSIS OF THE DISADVANTAGED POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The preceding section of this paper identified the situation of women in the Canadian labour market, a situation characterized by a high level of industrial and occupational concentration (often in those industries and occupations with relatively low wages), a consistently higher rate of unemployment than their male counterparts and a gap between salaries of men and women. These characteristics of the participation of women in the work force have remained relatively stable, although the lack of detailed occupational and industrial data since the 1971 Census may conceal some shifts in occupational and industrial distribution.

Employment discrimination within a firm used to be interpreted as the product of individual employer prejudice or ill-will against an individual or a group. As knowledge of the nature and extent of discrimination has developed, however, we have come to recognize discrimination in terms of the operation of the entire employment process, including hiring, promotion and training. While individual employers may still influence employment patterns due to personal prejudice or sexism the more significant basis of employment discrimination resides in the system itself. This perspective on employment discrimination is known as "systemic discrimination".

An institutional approach based on this concept can be used to examine the presence and persistence of the disadvantage faced by women, particularly in terms of occupational and industrial segregation, wage differentials and higher unemployment. In contrast to more orthodox theories of the labour market which maintain that discrimination has its foundations outside the economic structure, an institutional perspective considers discrimination to be in large part, systemic. Orthodox theories have not been particularly useful in explaining either the presence of occupational segregation or the persistence of the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market. As Alice Amsden (1980) has written:

Neoclassical theory abstracts economics from power by assuming that individuals exercise freedom of choice. This is not an unreasonable assumption in a world populated by atomistic individuals with roughly equal endowments of material and human capital. But in a world in which men and women . . . have unequal wealth and power, their abilities to exercise freedom of choice differ. In such a world, all women may be subject to discrimination. All may be saddled with childbearing responsibilities. . . . If this is the kind of world which one believes to exist, then the neoclassical assumption of freedom of choice yields no insights into the realities of women's problems. It mystifies them (p.30).

Before moving to a discussion of the operation of the labour market, the socio-economic context in which the labour market contributions of women are made and valued will be discussed.

ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEN

Origins of differential sex roles have been traced by anthropologists and sociologists who have concluded that a sexual division of labour has existed over time in all cultures. The resultant "anatomy is destiny" argument, however, is undermined by the fact that in different cultures men and women have been assigned different tasks. As one anthropologist has noted:

Cross-cultural data on the sexual division of labour very quickly dispelled the idea that men (or women) are unable to do some of the tasks assigned women or men in our culture (Leibowitz, 1975, p.20).

Unpaid work in the home is "women's work". In times when the family was the main unit for production as well as consumption, the lines of the sexual division of labour were less clear than they are in this century. As factory production replaced household production, the division of "family" and "work" spheres became more clear. As Seccombe explains:

With the advent of industrial capitalism, the general labour process was split into two discreet units: a domestic and an industrial unit. The character of the work performed in each was fundamentally different. The domestic unit reproduced labour power for the labour market. The industrial unit produced goods and services for the commodity market. This split in the labour process had produced a split in the labour force roughly along sexual lines - women into the domestic unit, men into industry.¹⁹

¹⁹ W. Seccombe, "The Housewife and Her Labour Under Capitalism", as quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong, p.59.

Because the "domestic" work of women took place within the family, it was not accorded a wage and hence was not really seen as valuable. Housework and child care were thus not "real work".

When women did enter the labour market, the jobs they obtained often reflected their role within the family - jobs of nurturing and caring for the needs of others. The status of these jobs (and the wages attached to them) tended to be lower than those of jobs done by men. In a historical context male characteristics and male values and attitudes have been valued more highly than those of women. This conclusion holds true for all societies - the value put on the work reflects the status of those traditionally allocated the work, and the work done by women is always considered less valuable than that done by men, regardless of its difficulty or contribution.

The International Labour Office (1975) has commented on the undervaluation by society of the work done by women:

Almost everywhere there remains a clear division of labour by sex with jobs labeled as "men's work" and "women's work". While the line of demarcation may vary with time and place, what is significant is the persistence of distinctions based on sex stereotypes...Job labelling of this kind is both dangerous and discriminatory. It leads to recruitment based on sex rather than on capacity, and it perpetuates unproven beliefs about women's abilities and inabilities as workers. It creates a situation in which work traditionally done by men commands higher pay and prestige while that traditionally done by women is accorded lower pay and prestige and is consistently undervalued. It has no inherent logic (p.417).

The participation of women in the labour force should, it was felt, take second place to women's role in the family. Consequently, the contribution to be made by women in the paid labour force was only recognized during times of labour shortage, particularly during wartime. Pierson (1977) provides an account of the recruitment of women into the labour market by the federal government during World War II. The recruitment was aimed first at young "girls" and single women and then childless, married women for full-time employment, next women with home responsibilities for part-time employment, and finally women with children for full-time employment. Concessions to the special needs of working women were made, particularly the provision of low-cost child care, including supervision during vacations as well as provision at school of a hot noon meal and supervision before and after school hours.

When the war came to an end, the day nurseries closed and other initiatives to aid working women were stopped. The large increase in the number of women in the labour force from 1939 to 1944 did not last. The female participation rate soon dropped from the 1945 high of 33% to about 25% in 1946. Women were regarded as replacing men only temporarily. In fact:

"the Women's Division of the National Selective Service sought to return married women to the home and to channel young unmarried women into traditionally female occupations: domestic service, nursing and teaching." (Pierson, 1977, p.145)

The fact that nearly half of the female working age population was in the labour force in 1979 is an indication that the division of labour along sexual lines into "domestic" and "industrial" spheres is outdated. However, the primary responsibility for maintaining the family unit falls to women, even when they hold paid jobs. The double burden of paid job and housework responsibilities falls much harder on women than on men. The dual burden of work in the home and in the labour force faced by many women has not resulted in significant change in the intra-family division of labour. As Meissner et al (1975) have found, the increase in workload for women with paid jobs is tremendous. In couples with a young child, the husbands' five hours of regular housework increased by one hour a week when their wives began to work for pay. The total weekly workload of the now-employed wives increased by 18 hours.

It is women who adjust their labour market commitments to accommodate family responsibilities through such methods as part-time work, jobs with no overtime demands, etc. Women also generally bear the responsibility for finding substitute care for their children when they enter the labour force.

Finding quality, affordable child care is a serious problem for many women. A 1973 survey by Statistics Canada (1975, #71-001) revealed that 40% of mothers who were not working but

would like to work were prevented from working by lack of satisfactory child care. Satisfactory child care arrangements are still very difficult to find for most women. In 1979 only 12% of children up to the age of six years of working mothers were enrolled in approved day care spaces (including day care centers and family day care homes). Less than 1% of all children aged 6 to 16 years whose mothers were in the labour force were enrolled in a child care program, leading to the "latch-key" child problem. (Department of Health and Welfare, 1979, p.7).

Women face social and cultural disadvantages in the form of forces influencing educational choices and career goals which may later influence their position in the labour market. The origins of these disadvantages are deeply rooted and pervasive. The attitudes which may later shape the development of children starts on the day of birth. A 1978 review of recent American research on sex roles²⁰ cites experiments which show that adults who are told an infant is a boy describe him as "big, tough, active, aggressive and alert". When told the same child is a girl, other adults find her "little, beautiful, pretty, cute, cuddly, passive and delicate".

²⁰ B.L. Forisha; Sex Roles and Personal Awareness, General Learning Press, Scott, Foreman and Co., 1978, cited in Women and Poverty, p.15.

Educational materials reinforce the same stereotypes. As the National Council of Welfare report, Women and Poverty points out:

According to Quebec and Ontario studies of textbooks used in primary and secondary schools in 1975, more than two out of three characters presented in schoolbooks are male. When women appear, it is usually in the background, standing passively by or performing domestic activities such as cooking and cleaning. Moreover these representations trivialize women's work in the home by almost never showing the most important role they play which is as educator of their children. Most unexpected was the finding that the higher the grade level, the less women are shown. (p.16)

These pressures are compounded by media messages which show women in a limited and traditional role as mothers and housewives, subservient and dependent upon men, while their labour force roles are under-represented. The impact of this portrayal is significant:

The mass media probably inhibits women's employment, discourages women's educational and occupational aspirations, and facilitates the underemployment of women by encouraging prospective employers to identify women workers with low-paying traditional female jobs. This analysis of the role of the media is substantiated by all available evidence about the impact of the media upon sex-role stereotyping. (Tuchman, 1977, p.261)

To the media pressure for traditional roles must be added the biases of parents. North American parents still have

higher educational aspirations for their sons than for their daughters (Robbs and Spencer, 1976, p.74). These influences are hard to overcome. A 1977 survey of Ottawa school children found that boys in high school had settled on a narrow range of career possibilities and were planning future education or training to help them decide. The majority of girls had settled on traditional female jobs requiring little further academic training. More than half believed that their main role in life was that of wife and mother and expected to remain at home while their children grew up.²¹

The recent Canadian experience, however, indicates that many women with children are re-entering the labour force. These re-entry women face one of the highest rates of unemployment in our economy. Studies undertaken between 1969 and 1975 in Québec, Ontario and Alberta (Pearson, 1979) revealed the following features of female re-entrants:

- married;
- between 40 and 44 years of age in Québec and Ontario; between 35 and 60 years in Alberta;
- majority have 2 to 3 children from 6 to 18 years of age;
- majority work full-time;
- work most often in an office support job or as nurses, waitresses or seamstresses;
- husbands' work ranged from blue-collar to professional.

²¹ S. J. Russell, Sex Role Socialization in the High School: A Study in the Perpetuation of Patriarchal Culture, Ph.D. Thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1978, Summary as found in National Council of Welfare, Women and Poverty, p. 17.

Barriers to the re-entry of women into the labour force include the double burden of family and work responsibilities, and inadequate child care facilities. In addition, human capital resources, particularly those developed through volunteer work, are often not recognized (Humphreys, 1979). While re-entry women have discontinuities in paid labour force activity, many have been heavily involved in unpaid (and therefore unrecognized) volunteer work. As Pearson notes, "A conservative estimate of the total value of volunteer services in Canada for 1971 was about \$1045 million, or about 1.1% of Canada's \$93,307 million GNP in the year" (p.30).

The social, cultural and economic disadvantages which women face make their position in the labour market extremely vulnerable. This oppression may be subtle or overt. One of the manifestations of this oppression is sexual harassment in the workplace, a pervasive problem whose dimensions are only beginning to be seen.²² Another manifestation is the "hard time" given women entering non-traditional areas, particularly in the trades. Attitudes of instructors, fellow students

²² See C. Backhouse and L. Cohen, The Secret Oppression - Sexual Harassment of Working Women, Macmillan of Canada Toronto, 1978 and B.C. Federation of Labour Women's Rights Committee and The Vancouver Women's Research Center, Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: A Discussion Paper, Vancouver, March, 1980

co-workers and employers can provide a setting so negative that women attempting to enter male-dominated areas suffer extreme isolation, depression and failure.

Examples of sex discrimination complaints lodged by women applying for or working in trades jobs indicate the depth of the problem. Women have been refused jobs as labourers even though they passed necessary medical tests (and smaller and lighter men had been accepted). Women have been refused jobs because employers felt washroom facilities were inadequate; women were subjected to various forms of harassment from male co-workers who refused to cooperate; qualified women have been required to qualify at standards much higher than those set for men; women have been refused jobs because men might feel inhibited and have to watch their language (Saskatchewan Continuing Education and Regina Plains Community College).

Particular groups of women are "doubly disadvantaged" in that they face an additional disadvantage in the labour market besides that of sex. Handicapped women, native women and immigrant women often find themselves in this situation.

While statistics on the position of handicapped people of both sexes in the labour market are deficient and sparse, studies indicate that disabled women face higher unemployment rates than disabled men and receive lower incomes. Physically disabled women suffer more from the stigma of disfiguration than do men due to the high value place by society on female

beauty. The incorrect assumption that men must support themselves and that women will always have someone to support them reinforces the double disadvantage of handicapped women since their need for rehabilitation for gainful employment is not always recognized.

Immigrant women are similarly doubly disadvantaged. In addition to occupational segregation and low wages, an immigrant woman may also suffer fear and exploitation arising from her status as an immigrant. She may experience great difficulty in attending government-sponsored language courses since they are usually available only in the evenings and home and child care responsibilities often make attendance impossible.

Native women are one of the most economically disadvantaged groups in our society. In addition to facing discrimination as native people and women, they are often located in small, isolated, rural communities, in which the great majority of jobs are in traditionally male occupations such as forestry, mining, and hunting. In addition, the education and training of Native women is generally limited, and their geographic mobility is limited by a high rate of marriage or common-law relationships at an early age and a high birth rate. Native women also face the reality of different, sometimes harsher cultural attitudes of males towards females within their own society.

STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF THE LABOUR MARKET

In addition to the sociological and anthropological evidence of the undervaluation of female labour and influences leading to occupational segregation, the structure and operation of the labour market affects the employment position of women.

As previously stated, an institutional approach seeks to explain and understand wage differentials, occupational segregation and differences in unemployment rates as manifestations of systemic discrimination in the labour market. By the institutional approach, the labour market is not viewed as a single entity (enjoying perfect competition and in an equilibrium position) in which workers compete freely and are rewarded according to their worth to the economy. Instead an institutional perspective begins with the notion that the labour market is, in fact, separated into a number of different segments. This approach is known as labour market segmentation analysis. Competition and movement between labour market segments are limited and economic rewards and labour are distributed differently within each labour market segment.

Different formulations of labour market segmentation analysis vary in their view of the division of the labour market into segments. Characteristics of occupations and industries (or some combination of both) are most often used to identify labour market segments.

One variant of this analysis views the labour market as being divided into "primary" and "secondary" occupations and/or sectors. "Primary" occupations or sectors are characterized by high wages, good working conditions, employment stability and promotion opportunities. "Secondary" jobs or sectors are characterized by low wages and fringe benefits, poor working conditions, unstable and dead-end employment. Disadvantaged workers are largely confined to the secondary sector due to discrimination, poor skills and work habits, and locality. Employment in secondary jobs tends to encourage and reinforce bad work patterns such as absenteeism and high turnover. Workers may gradually take on the unstable work habits which match the unstable demand of the secondary sector, thus further limiting their mobility. There are few and weak interconnections between primary and secondary markets.

Non-whites, immigrants, women and teenagers are disproportionately found in secondary jobs. As MacDonald (1980) points out, this form of labour market segmentation theory suggests that "employment instability is imposed on these workers rather than reflecting an accommodation with their actual employment preferences." In other words, high turnover or absenteeism should be viewed as the product of a poorly-paid dead-end job, rather than as a natural characteristic of a particular worker.

Labour market segmentation by characteristics of occupations is further analysed in internal labour market theory. This theory emphasizes the role of administrative rules and decisions and the insulation of many jobs from direct market forces. The job structure of a given firm may be seen to be divided into two categories of occupations (Blau and Jusenius, 1976). One set of job categories is filled from sources external to the firm through the recruitment of new workers. These entry jobs are "ports of entry" and are usually the lowest level plant, clerical or managerial posts. The other sets of jobs categories is filled internally through promotion and upgrading of presently employed workers. Access to these positions is generally through advancement up well-defined promotion ladders.

Jobs which are filled externally are seen to be affected by competitive market forces. However, internally allocated jobs have requirements for enterprise-specific skills and knowledge which work to prevent the development of a competitive market and encourage the development of an internal labour market which allocates labour and sets wages.

A stable employment relationship is central to the functioning of the internal labour market (Stevenson, 1976, p.7). To the employer, this stability is a way of protecting his investment in on-the-job training and reducing recruitment

and hiring costs. To the employee, this stability ensures that continuity of employment, access to promotions and rights to fringe benefits are protected from competition with workers outside the firm.

Stevenson (1976) argues that the existence of an internal labour market causes a "conservatism" in recruitment and hiring since "it is more important to avoid hiring an unsatisfactory workers than to avoid rejecting a qualified worker" (p.14). Consequently, recruitment and hiring practices that have worked well in the past, usually those that attract applicants who are similar to the current work force in the occupation, will be continued. Hiring and recruitment practices such as word-of-mouth recruiting and unnecessary screening tests can work to reject qualified potential workers.

With respect to the allocation of labour within the firm, promotion opportunities are generally determined by the original entry-level position the worker obtained. While not all workers in a specific job category will automatically be promoted to higher-level jobs, the possibility of such promotion will be restricted to that group of workers.

The internal labour market is used to ensure that the process of skill acquisition through on-the-job training functions smoothly. Employers may choose to sex-segregate entry level jobs for two reasons (Stevenson, 1976): (1) entry level jobs attached to longer promotion ladders may be reserved for men if they represent larger investments in on-the-job

training and the employer expects that women will have shorter tenure with the firm; (2) the employer may prefer to hire workers who are homogeneous if he believes that such homogeneous work groups will facilitate the process of on-the-job training.

As well, Stevenson argues that:

Those entry level jobs requiring significant amounts of on-the-job training or leading to other jobs requiring such training will likely be men's jobs; women's jobs are likely to have shorter promotional ladders and fewer training opportunities . . . Even if women are allowed access to entry level jobs with long promotion ladders, their rate of promotion may be slower than men's (p.17).

Labour markets may also be segmented by characteristics of industries, as in studies which differentiate between core and periphery sectors of the economy (Boyd and Humpherys, 1979). The core sector consists of industries with characteristics of high productivity, high profits, high capital intensity and a high degree of unionization. Industries in the periphery sector are generally small in size and labour intensive, with low levels of unionization and low profits.

It is argued that core and periphery sectors (also labelled as monopoly and competitive sectors) have different manpower requirements. The labour force required by core industries

must be trainable and stable while the periphery sector requires workers who are willing to accept inferior working conditions, lower wages and a higher risk of work instability. The core sector is characterized by highly bureaucratized firms with a wider range of occupations and incomes than is evident in the periphery sector.

As Boyd and Humphreys (1979) explain:

Within both sectors employees may allocate women to less desirable jobs on the basis of minimizing risk and uncertainty. But, the relative costs of such occupational segregation may be expected to be substantially greater in the core than the periphery sector because of sectoral differences in unionization and bureaucratic structures which operate to the advantage of males (p. 410).

American empirical data suggest that differential evaluations of income relevant characteristics between core and periphery sectors as well as between men and women within sectors contribute to male-female income differentials (Boyd and Humphreys, 1979, p.402).

The results of a Canadian study by Boyd and Humphreys accord with the American experience. Their conclusions are summarized as follows:

This income gap (between mean income of full-time paid members of the 1973 Canadian native born labour force) almost totally reflects sex differences in the utilization of income relevant characteristics, with women receiving lower returns to years in the labour force, and current occupational status....The analysis indicates that: (1)...men and women are almost equally distributed into the core and into the periphery industrial sectors of the Canadian economy; (2) the income attainment process of male workers

in the core does not differ from that of male workers in the periphery, whereas female workers in the core industries receive a higher rate of return for their years in the labour force and education when compared to females in the periphery; (3) differential evaluation of characteristics by sex remains a major source of the lower income of women within labour markets. However, the extent of income discrepancy and the impact of such differential evaluation varies by core-periphery location" (p.410).

Empirical research on the segmentation of labour markets in the Canadian context is sparse. American literature on this topic is significantly more advanced and has provided many insights into sex inequality in the U.S. labour market. Many, if not all, of these insights may be applicable in the Canadian context. Clearly this is an area where further and better Canadian research and investigation is required.

IV. POLICY DIRECTIONS

An understanding of the systemic nature of employment discrimination in the labour market leads to a number of policy prescriptions for improving the position of women in the Canadian labour market.

An institutional approach which recognizes the presence of segmented labour markets suggests policy emphasis on the structural aspects of labour demand and away from individual aspects of labour supply. Human capital policies that attempt to alter the structure of labour supply (i.e. improved education, training, mobility and labour market information) will not, by themselves, significantly improve the employment position of women.

To the extent that a segmented labour market does exist, upgrading human capital skills will not necessarily significantly improve the position of women in the labour market. This point bears particular significance for the non-traditional trades area which is increasingly being seen as an area in which women can make substantial inroads. Unless an approach which seeks to remove structural barriers is adopted, it is likely that the same forces which operate to segregate women into low pay, low-status jobs in the traditional sector

will appear in the non-traditional trades area as well. Thus the movement of women into non-traditional trades jobs in itself will not guarantee increasing equality in the labour market.

However, the movement of women into non-traditional jobs (in a wide sense) is an important initiative. Training, job creation and employer incentives to help women move into these jobs should focus on high productivity, stable industries. As well, initiatives to help women move into non-traditional areas should begin with those occupations in which there are already some women present. This will avoid the isolation and difficulties women face in breaking into completely male enclaves, thereby increasing chances of a successful program.

An industrial policy which will aid the economy to move increasingly toward high productivity, stable industries would increase the number of jobs available in these more desirable sectors. A full employment policy is one instrument which could be used to achieve these industrial objectives. In principle, employers in the primary, more desirable sector would be required to look to the secondary sector for workers as labour markets tighten. However, the structural change

implied by this process will not necessarily occur. As Doeringer and Piore (1975) have pointed out, employers and unions in the primary sector often appear to favour temporary solutions to tight job markets. For instance, the use of subcontracting and temporary workers does not result in the permanent movement of workers from the secondary to the primary sector. In other words, a full employment policy by itself will not necessarily result in improvements in the employment situation of women.

Also required are initiatives to provide access for women to jobs in the primary sector. Such initiatives include mandatory affirmative action, incentives for on-the-job training for women and adequate provision of support services. Systemic discrimination present in employment systems and practices must be eliminated and remedial measures must be developed to help overcome historic disadvantage. The technical framework for introducing affirmative action programs is relatively well-developed in Canada. However, the success of the voluntary approach is clearly limited and a mandatory approach will be required.

Notwithstanding the goal of full employment, action must be taken to improve the present employment situation of women

by improving conditions of work in those jobs now held by women. Minimum standards legislation pertaining to such things as health hazards and maternity leave should be upgraded. Human rights legislation, particularly the guarantee of equal pay for work of equal value for employees under federal jurisdiction, should be vigorously implemented. Even if women are not able to move easily out of less desirable "secondary" jobs, increasing their wages by providing equal pay for work of equal value would be a significant improvement.

The particular needs of doubly disadvantaged women must be recognized and addressed. Special programs for the handicapped, for example, must accord equal opportunity to women for skilled, higher wage jobs. Immigrant women must be aided in identifying and exercising their rights. In addition, language policies should be examined to ensure access by immigrant women. Particular training needs of Native women should be emphasized. Labour market policies in any of these areas must give special attention to the female component of these groups.

Improvement in the employment situation of women will require initiatives outside the labour market areas as well. A clearly-defined family policy which helps all workers to combine parental responsibilities with those of worker is

necessary. The dual burden of paid employment and major responsibility for home and child care places constraints on the labour force involvement of women. Efforts should be made to provide the support services required by many working women and men. Child care facilities are perhaps the most important component of such support services. In addition, women should not face economic penalties for bearing children. Adequate paid maternity leave and parental leave are required. Pro-rated benefits for part-time work and flexible working time will also facilitate the combination of parental and working roles.

The cultural undervaluing of women's work and societal sex role stereotyping (particularly within educational institutions) can operate so as to restrict occupational choice and job opportunities for women. While efforts to change such portrayal in the media in all likelihood will have to be long-term in nature, educational material which perpetuates sex stereotypes could be improved quickly.

The power to influence different aspects of the employment situation of women rests with various levels of both federal and provincial governments as well as the private sector. The Canada Employment and Immigration Commission can affect only those aspects which fall within its mandate. While the impact

of activities under this mandate could be considerable, it must be recognized that cross-department and cross-government action is required.

Women are participating in the Canadian labour force in unprecedented numbers. Projections indicate that this trend will continue and that women may soon make up close to half the labour force. Initiatives to accommodate this changing reality should not be viewed as an act of largesse but rather as wise social planning and sound economic sense.

While economic conditions may work to expand women's opportunities in the next decade, policy-makers must ensure that equality for women in the workplace reflects not only short-term economic imperatives but also represents a fundamental societal recognition of and commitment to equal opportunities for all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Arthur J.; "Income, Experience, and the Structure of Internal Labour Markets," Quarterly Journal of Economics, 1974.
- Amsden, Alice H.; The Economics of Women and Work, Penguin Books Ltd., Canada, 1980.
- Armstrong, Pat and Hugh Armstrong; The Double Ghetto, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1978.
- Arnopolous, Sheila McLeod; Problems of Immigrant Women in the Canadian Labour Force, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, January 1979.
- Backhouse, C. and L. Cohen; The Secret Oppression - Sexual Harassment of Working Women, Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1978.
- Blau, F. and C. Jusenius; "Economists' Approaches to Sex Segregation in the Labour Market: An Appraisal" in Women and the Workplace: The Implications of Occupational Segregation, M. Blaxall and B. Reagan (eds.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1976
- Blaxall, M. and B. Reagan (eds.); Women and the Workplace: The Implications of Occupational Segregation, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1976.
- Blumrosen, Ruth G., "Wage Discrimination; Job Segregation and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964", University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform, Volume 12, Spring 1979, Number 3.
- Boyd, Monica and Elizabeth Humphreys; "Sex Differences in Canada: Incomes and Labour Markets", Reflections on Canadian Incomes, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa 1979
- Canada Department of Finance; Canada's Recent Inflation Experience, Ottawa, November 1978.
- Canada Department of Finance; Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada by Dan Ciuriak and Harvey Sims, Ottawa, April 1980.
- Canada Department of Employment and Immigration; "Analyse du taux d'activité des femmes par la méthode des cohortes", by Serge Bertrand, Ottawa, November 1978 (internal working paper).
- Canada Department of Employment and Immigration; "National Report-Canada", Paper prepared for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, High level Conference on the Employment of Women, Ottawa, April 1980.

Canada Department of Health and Welfare; Status of Day Care in Canada 1979, Ottawa, 1979.

Canada Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; A Demographic Profile of Registered Indian Women, Ottawa, October 1979.

Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration; Canada Manpower and Immigration Review, Special Issue: International Women's Year, Vol. 8, No. 1, First Quarter, 1975.

Cloutier, Eden and Alister Smith; "The Evaluation of an Alternative Unemployment Insurance Plan," Discussion Paper No. 159, Economic Council of Canada, Ottawa, February, 1979.

Connelly, Patricia; Last Hired First Fired, The Women's Press, Toronto, 1978.

Cook, Gail C.A., (ed.); Opportunity for Choice, Statistics Canada in association with the C.D. Howe Research Institute, Ottawa, 1976.

Courtney, Alice E. and T.W. Whipple; Canadian Perspectives on Sex Stereotyping in Advertising, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, June 1978.

Doeringer, Peter B. and Michael J. Piore; "Unemployment and the 'dual labour market'", The Public Interest, 1975.

Dulude, Louise; "Joint Taxation of Spouses - A Feminist View", Canadian Taxation, Winter, 1979.

Economic Council of Canada; People and Jobs, Information Canada, Ottawa, 1976.

Eichler, Margrit; "Towards a Policy for Families in Canada," Paper prepared for Status of Women Canada, December 1979.

Humphreys, Elizabeth; "The Re-Entry of Canadian Women into the Labour Force", Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, November 1979.

Kallenberg, Arne L. and Aage Sorenson; "The Sociology of Labour Markets", Annual Review of Sociology, Volume 5, 1979.

Kohen, Andrew I. with Susan C. Breinich and Patricia Shields; Women and the Economy: A Bibliography and a Review of the Literature on Sex Differentiation in the Labour Market, Centre for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, March 1975.

Leibowitz, L.; "Perspectives on the Evolution of Sex Differences," Toward An Anthropology of Women, Rayna R. Reiter (ed.), Monthly Review Press, New York, 1975.

- MacDonald, Martha: "Implications for Understanding Women in the Labour Force of Labour Market Segmentation Analysis - The Unanswered Questions", Paper prepared for Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Workshop on Women and The Canadian Labour Force, Vancouver, October 1980
- Meissner, Martin; Humphreys, Elizabeth; Meis, Scott; Scheu, William; "No Exit for Wives: Sexual Division of Labour and the Cumulation of Household Demands," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12(4), Part 1, 1975.
- National Council of Welfare; Women and Poverty, Ottawa, October 1979.
- Ostry, Sylvia; The Female Worker in Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1968.
- Patterson, C. "An Economic Profile of the Blind" Labour Research Bulletin, June 1977.
- Pearson, M.; The Second Time Around: A Study of Women Returning to the Work Force, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, April 1979.
- Pierson, R.; "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II", in The Neglected Majority, Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, (eds.), McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1977.
- Reich, Michael et al.; "A Theory of Labour Market Segmentation," American Economic Association, May 1973.
- Reubens, B. and Reubens, E.; "Women Workers, Non-traditional Occupations and Full Employment", in American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy, A Compendium of Papers submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Washington, 1977.
- Robbs, A.L. and Spencer, B.G.; "Education: Enrollment and Attainment" in Opportunity for Choice, Gail C.A. Cook (ed.) Statistics Canada in association with the C.D. Howe Research Institute, Ottawa, 1976.
- Saskatchewan Continuing Education and Regina Plains Community College; "Report on Pre-Trades Training for Women", Regina, May 1979.
- Science Council of Canada; The Impact of the Microelectronics Revolution on Work and Working, Proceedings of a workshop sponsored by the Science Council of Canada Committee on Computers and Communications, Ottawa, July 1980.

- Statistics Canada; Education in Canada, Cat. 81-229, 1973 and 1978.
- Statistics Canada; Historical Labour Force Statistics, Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data, Cat. 71-201, 1973 and 1975.
- Statistics Canada; Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529.
- Statistics Canada; The Labour Force, Cat. 71-001, December 1979
- Statistics Canada; The Labour Force, Cat. 71-001, December 1980
- Statistics Canada; Income Distributions by Size in Canada, Cat. 13-207, 1967 and 1978.
- Statistics Canada; Corporations and Labour Unions Returns Act, Part II-Labour Unions, Cat. 71-202, 1978.
- Statistics Canada and Women's Bureau, Labour Canada; Higher Education-Hired?, September 1980.
- Status of Women Canada; "Improving the Status of Disabled Women in Canada", Ottawa, September 1980.
- Stevenson, Mary Huff; "Internal Labour Markets and the Employment of Women in Complex Organizations", Working Paper for the Centre for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Boston, 1976.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann and Alison Prentice, (eds.); The Neglected Majority, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1977.
- Tuchman, G.; "The Impact of Mass-Media Stereotypes Upon the Full Employment of Women", in American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy, A Compendium of Papers submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization, Joint Economic Committee, Washington, 1977.
- U.S. Congress; American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy, A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization, Joint Economic Committee, Washington, 1977.
- U.S. President's Committee on the Handicapped; Report of the President's Committee on the Handicapped, U.S.A., 1972.
- White, Julie; Women and Unions, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, April 1980

Women's Bureau, Labour Canada; Women in the Labour Force:
Facts and Figures, Part II - Miscellaneous, 1977.

Women's Bureau, Labour Canada; Women in the Labour Force:
Facts and Figures, Part III - Miscellaneous, 1977.

Women's Bureau, Labour Canada; Women in the Labour Force:
Facts and Figures, 1975.

Zeman, Zavis; The Impacts of Computer/Communications on
Employment in Canada: An Overview of Current O.E.C.D.
Debates, Montreal, 1979.

Zimmerman, Lillian; "Women in Transition: The Social and
Economic Needs of Women Returning to the Labour Force",
Master's Thesis, School of Social Work, University of
British Columbia, June 1979.

